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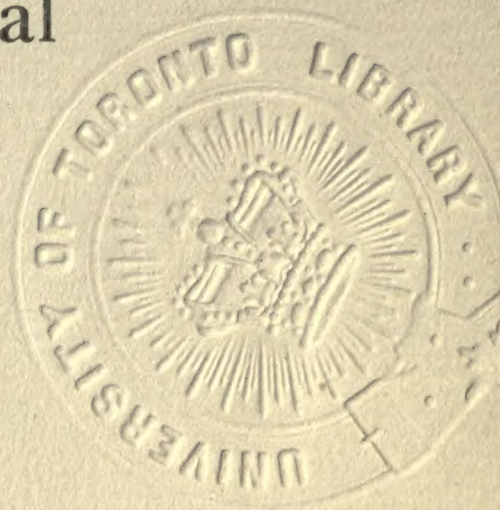
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INDEX

Volumes I-III inclusive

- Adams, Henry T., I, 55.
 Adams, John Q., I, 36, 68, 71, 86, 88; II, 8, 9, 10, 15, 107, 112, 115.
 Alexandria (Va.), II, 59, 62, 82, 83, 86, 87, 90.
 Alleghanies, III, 18.
 Allison, Dr., III, 58.
 Amelia Islands, II, 108.
 America, II, 71.
 America (Crawford's), Statue of, I, 45, 49. See Liberty.
 America (Power's), Statue of, I, 33, 35, 39, 40, 44, 46, 53, 57.
 American Bonds, II, 58, 59.
 American French Debt, II, 58.
 Amsterdam, II, 72.
 Anderson, Col. John, II, 108.
 Arcambal, Madame, II, 20.
 Archer, Dr., III, 54.
 Archer, William, III, 71.
 Arkansas River, III, 18.
 Austin, ———, II, 100.
 Backus, Mr., II, 83, 85, 86, 87.
 Baldwin, Henry, II, 29, 32, 112.
 Baltimore, I, 70; III, 21.
 Baltimore & Ohio R. R., III, 88.
 Baltimore Convention (1832), I, 89.
 Banks of the United States, I, 86.
 Barber, Dr., III, app. 2.
 Barker, James M., II, 30.
 Barlow, Joel, II, 48, 54, 55, 57, 66, 67, 82, 83, 85, 89.
 Letters of, II, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 71, 78.
 Barond, C. O. J., II, 48, 49, 54, 57.
 Barton, Prof., III, 16, 40.
 Battle of New Orleans (print), III, 84.
 Battle of Tippecanoe (print), III, 84.
 Beargrass, I, 5.
 Beasley, Capt., I, 17.
 Beddoes, Dr., III, 53.
 Benham, Joseph, II, 10, 25, 28, 29; III, 69.
 Berthelot, Matthew, II, 89, 92.
 Beverly, O., II, 9.
 Big Sandy River, III, 16.
 Bill of Sale (Scioto land), II, 54.
 Blackden, Col., II, 72.
 Bird, Seth, II, 101.
 Blue Lick Battle, I, 6.
 Blue Lick River, I, 7, 15, 17.
 Boone, Col. Daniel, I, 13.
 Boston, I, 41, 53.
 Boulogne, Mr., II, 62, 63, 64, 80, 88, 89.
 Brabant (France), II, 73.
 Brooke, Rev. J. T., III, 101.
 Broomfield, Henry, II, 61.
 Brown, James, II, 8.
 Brownson, John, III, 18.
 Buchanan, James, I, 41, 43, 44, 50, 57.
 Buford, Capt. Lyman, I, 22.
 Bureau, Peter, II, 89, 92.
 Burnet, Jacob, II, 10, 22, 105, 106, 107, 115; III, 8, 80.
 Burnham, Major, II, 84, 85, 86, 87.
 Butler, James R., Letter of, III, 98.
 Calhoun, John C., I, 67, 68, 85, 92; II, 7, 21, 25, 26, 28; III, 96.
 Cambrelling, C. C., I, 88.
 Campbell, Hon. Mr., I, 53.
 Campbell, John, III, 87.
 Canal Bill (Penn.), I, 73.
 Canby, Israel T., II, 16, 22, 23.
 Canby, Dr. J., III, 17, 47, 48.
 Caquelon, Chevalier de (Guillaume, L. J.), II, 48, 49.
 Carlisle (Penn.), I, 3.
 Carson, Mr. (of N. Car.), III, 71.
 Cass, Lewis, I, 48, 49; II, 10, 32, 34; III, 75, 80.
 Catawba Wine, I, 38, 39, 47, 55.
 Chambersburg, Ill., I, 72.
 Cherokee Meeting, II, 20.
 Chilton, Thomas, I, 79.
 Cincinnati (Ohio), I, 3, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 77, 78; II, 17, 100, 104, 107, 120; III, 69, 86, 100.
 Cincinnati—Calendarium Floræ, III, 25, 26, 27, 28.
 Cincinnati, Climate of, III, 11, 12, 13, 14.
 Cincinnati, Condition of, III, 29, 30, 31.
 Cincinnati Chronicle, II, 20.
 Cincinnati, City Electors of, II, 120.
 Cincinnati, Diseases of, III, 32-60, i-iv (app.).
 Cincinnati Gazette, II, 18; III, 100.
 Cincinnati, Geology of, III, 7-10.
 Cincinnati, Notices concerning, III, 27.
 Cincinnati, Temperature of, III, 12-23, 37.
 Cincinnati, Topography of, III, 5, 6.
 Cincinnati Weather, Table of, III, 23, 25.
 Cincinnati Western General Advertiser, I, 29.
 Cincinnati, Winds of, III, 20, 21.
 Clark, George Rogers, I, 5, 6, 12, 21.
 Clark, Col. William, III, 76.
 Clay, Henry, I, 68, 70, 71, 85, 92; II, 7, 25, 106, 109, 115, 120; III, 84, 87.
 Clayton, John M., I, 78.
 Columbo Root, III, 1 app.
 Columbus, O., I, 75; II, 1; III, 89.
 Congress (U. S.), I, 33, 49, 52.
 Convention (Harrisburg), II, 119.
 Convention (Virginia), II, 117.
 Cook, Daniel P., I, 71.
 Cornwallis, Lord, I, 7.
 Corry, William, II, 20.
 Corwin, Thomas, III, 77.
 Coulter, Dick, III, 87.

- Craigie, William, II, 66, 90, 91, 92.
 Crawford, Thomas (the sculptor), I, 10, 45, 46, 49, 50.
 Crawford, William H., I, 68, 69, 70; II, 15, 107.
 Crawfordsville (Ind.), II, 15.
 Curner, ———, I, 14.
 Cushing, Caleb, I, 49.
 Cutler, Manasseh, II, 43, 45, 54, 77, 90.
 Cutler & Sargent, II, 44, 45.
 Dallas, A. J., III, 98.
 Dallas, George M., II, 33, 34, 112.
 Danville (Ky.), I, 6, 21.
 Darwin, Dr., III, 53, 56.
 Davis, Jefferson, —I, 49.
 Davis' Straights, III, 22.
 Dawson, Moses, I, 73; II, 109 (letter).
 Dayton (Ohio), III, 17.
 DeBarth, Mr., II, 68, 70, 74, 75, 89.
 DeBarth, Coquet & Co., II, 70, 74.
 Deer Creek, III, 5, 6, 10, 30.
 DeFronville, Bergent, II, 81.
 D'Hebecourt, Mr., II, 88.
 Delaware river, III, 15, 16.
 DeLormerie, Mr., II, 77.
 DeSoisson, Jean A. C., II, 57, 90.
 Dick, Dr., III, 53.
 Dixon, Mr., II, 61.
 Douglas, Stephen A., I, 36, 52.
 Drake, Daniel, III, 1, 27.
 Duer, William, II, 44, 45, 59, 61, 66, 71-77, 83, 84, 87, 90, 91.
 Duncan, Joseph, I, 94.
 Dunkerque, France, II, 81.
 Duportail, Genl., II, 59.
 Eagle Creek, Ky., I, 22.
 Edwards, Dr. Abraham, III, 17.
 Edwards, Ninian W., II, 112, 113.
 Eichbaum, Mr. (of Pittsburg), II, 36.
 Elkhorn river, I, 22.
 Este, David K., II, 105, 117; III, 80.
 Este, Dr. (of Hamilton), III, 48.
 Evans, Samuel, letter of, III, 87, 90.
 Eve, Statue of, I, 53.
 Everett, Mr. (Edward), I, 34, 35, 39, 40, 44, 49, 52, 57.
 Ewing, Nathaniel, III, 86, 87.
 Ewing, Thomas, III, 97.
 Falls of Ohio, I, 5.
 Farmain, Mr., II, 57.
 Farquhar, Dr., III, 58.
 Fayette County (O.), III, 88.
 Findlay, James (Genl.), I, 67, 68, 74 (letter), 76, 78, 79, 85, 90, 91, 92, 94, 96; II, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20-29, 31, 32, 34-36, 100, 101, 104, 108, 109, 116, 120; III, 69, 71, 74-77, 80, 96.
 Findlay, Mrs. James, II, 101-103.
 Findlay, James (s. of Wm.), I, 86, 96.
 Findlay, James K., III, 86, 92.
 Findlay, Mrs. Jane (wife of James), I, 83; II, 11; III, 91, 92, 93, 96, 98, 99.
 Findlay, John (Col.), I, 71, 78; III, 91. Letters of, I, 68; II, 26, 36, 112.
 Findlay, Jonathan, I, 83; II, 8.
 Findlay, Nathan, III, 91.
 Findlay, Samuel (s. of Wm.), I, 73.
 Findlay, Samuel (s. of John), II, 36.
 Findlay, Samuel B., III, 82.
 Findlay, William, I, 77. Letters of, I, 79, 83, 86; II, 27, 30, 32, 34; III, 98.
 Findlay, W. N., III, 91.
 Finley, James (s. of Thos.), I, 96.
 Finley, Thomas, III, 99. Letters of, I, 68, 77, 90, 95; II, 29, 35, 36.
 Finley & Van Lear, II, 106.
 Flint, Royal, II, 45, 66, 75, 77, 90.
 Florence (Italy), I, 33, 43.
 Fort Cumberland, II, 83.
 Fort Washington, III, 29.
 Fort Wayne (Ind.) Land Office, II, 8.
 Fort Wayne (Ind.), III, 17.
 Franklin, Dr. Benjamin, III, 21.
 Franks & Co., II, 88, 90.
 French Emigrants, II, 61, 78, 89.
 Gallipolis (O.), II, 89, 90.
 Garrard, Mr., I, 26.
 Gazley, James, II, 110, 112.
 Ginn, William, II, 116.
 Goforth, Dr., III, 40.
 Goodenow, John M., II, 21.
 Gould, Mr., I, 57.
 Gouy d'Artsy, Marquis of (Louis Marthe), II, 48, 49, 54, 57.
 Governments (Europe), I, 40.
 Government (U. S.), I, 34, 39.
 Graham, ———, II, 20.
 Graham, George, III, 72.
 Grant, Moses, I, 28, 29.
 Grant, Samuel (Capt.), I, 24, 25, 27, 28.
 Great Crossings of the Elkhorn, I, 22.
 Great Miami river, I, 12; III, iv (ap.).
 Great Kenhawa river, III, 16.
 Green, Duff, II, 13.
 Gregory, ———, I, 29.
 Gregory, Sherlock S., letter of, II, 31.
 Guibert, Francois T., II, 48, 49, 54.
 Guion, Isaac, II, 82-84, 87, 89, 90.
 Gwynne, Major, II, 23.
 Hamilton County (O.), II, 101.
 Hammond, Charles, II, 10, 114; III, 85.
 Harris, George W., III, 92.
 Harrisburg (Pa.), I, 73.
 Harrisburg (Pa.) Convention, II, 119.
 Harrison, Dr., III, 60.
 Harrison, Benjamin, III, 77, 78.
 Harrison, Elizabeth Irwin, III, 93.
 Harrison, Mrs. Jane Findlay, III, 70, 76, 79, 96, 98, 99.
 Harrison, John C. S., III, 71, 72, 73.
 Harrison, Mrs. J. C. S., III, 72, 73.
 Harrison, John Scott, III, 74, 75, 76, 77, 93.
 Harrison, William Henry, II, 23, 26, 99, 107, 109, 110, 113, 114, 116, 120; III, 67, 69, 70, 81-91, 95, 97, 98. Letters of, II, 100, 101, 102, 104, 107, 108, 115, 116, 117; III, 71, 77. Funeral Obsequies, III, 100-2.
 Harrison, Mrs. (Wm. H.), II, 101-3.
 Harrison, William Henry, Jr.— Letters of, III, 74, 75, 76, 80, 81.
 Harrison, Mrs. W. H., Jr., III, 98.
 Hastings, ———, I, 25.
 Hartford, Conn., II, 48, 54.
 Havre, France, II, 62, 65, 76.
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, I, 58.
 Hayward, Elijah, I, 76, letter; II, 20, 26.
 Heath, Maj. James P., II, 35.
 Heath, Genl. (Bro. of James), II, 35.
 Hendricks, William, II, 22, 118; III, 73.
 Hinkston, Capt., I, 4.
 Historical & Philosophical Society of Ohio: Annual Report, 1906, I, 100. Annual Report, 1907, II, 124. Annual Report, 1908, III, 104.
 Hulbert (of Mass.), II, 104.
 Hulse, E., III, 69.
 Indian Department (U. S.), II, 19.
 Ingham, Samuel D., I, 81, 82; III, 73.
 Irwin, Capt., I, 16.
 Irwin, James R., III, 77, 99.
 Italy, I, 41.
 Jackson, Dr., III, 38.
 Jackson, Andrew, I, 68, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 82, 89; II, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, 24, 26, 35, 36; III, 81.

- Jackson Party, I, 91, 92.
 Jacksonians (of Cin'ti), II, 120.
 Jefferson, Thomas, III, 16.
 Jennings, David, II, 114.
 Jennings, Jonathan, letters of, II, 113, 114.
 Jesup, Thomas P., I, 67, letter; II, 36; III, 100.
 Johnson, Col. Richard M., II, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 107; III, 73, 82, 83.
 Johnson, Col. Robert, I, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28.
 Johnson, Col. ———, III, 71.
 Johnston, F., II, 102.
 Jones, Mr., III, 92.
 Jones, G. W., letter of, III, 88.
 Jones, William, II, 105.
 Judges of U. S. Supreme Court, II, 115.
 Kellogg, Mr., I, 57.
 Kendall, Amos, I, 84; III, 87.
 Kennedy, Col. Thomas, I, 13, 16.
 Kenton, Simon, I, 13.
 Kentucky, I, 3, 6, 23, 24, 30; III, 6, 9, 10, 40.
 Kentucky Convention, II, 120.
 Keyes, James, II, 105.
 Kilgour, David, II, 103.
 Kincaid's Station, I, 6.
 King, Edward, II, 28.
 King, Mrs. Margaret Rives, II, 28.
 King, Rufus, II, 28.
 Knehawa River, II, 59, 61, 64, 84, 90.
 Knight, Jonathan, II, 13.
 Kremer, George, I, 72, 73.
 La Croix, Mr., II, 20.
 La Forge, Mr., II, 88.
 Lake Erie, III, 22, 24.
 Lake Ontario, III, 22.
 Laughlin, G., II, 100.
 Lebanon (O.), III, 17.
 Lee, Henry (of Va.), II, 12.
 Lee, Richard Bland, II, 106.
 Leiper, Thomas, II, 105.
 Leroy, Mr., III, 80.
 Lewis, Mrs. Eliza M., III, 93, letter.
 Lewis, George, III, 94.
 Lewis, W. B., II, 16.
 Lexington, Ky., I, 7, 11, 22.
 Liberty (Crawford's) Statue of, I, 45, 49.
 Licking, Ky., I, 5.
 Licking River, III, 5, 6, 9, 10.
 Limestone (now Maysville), I, 4, 21.
 Lincoln, B., III, 54.
 Little Miami river, II, 101.
 Logan, Col. Benjamin, I, 12, 15, 17, 18.
 Longworth, Joe, III, 100.
 Longworth, Nicholas, I, 33, 39, 40, 44, 47, 50, 59.
 Loskiel, George H., III, 15, 17.
 Louisiana, II, 103.
 Louisiana Purchase, II, 103.
 Lucas, Robert, III, 81.
 Lynch, David, II, 36.
 Lytle, Robert T., II, 29; III, 69.
 Lytle, Col. William, Sen., I, 1.
 Lytle, Genl. William, I, 3, 20, 24; II, 28; III, 8.
 McCarty, John M., II, 109.
 McDowell, James, I, 18-20.
 McDuffey, George B., I, 74, 88; II, 33; III, 71.
 McFarland, II, 84, 87.
 McGary, Col. Hugh, I, 15.
 M'Kag, John, III, i (app.).
 McKean, Thomas, I, 91; II, 99.
 McLean, George, I, 69, letter.
 McLean, Mrs., I, 36.
 McLean, Eliza, III, 93.
 McLean, Judge John, I, 49, 85, 92, 96; II, 7, 10, 12, 21, 25, 26, 112, 115.
 McLean, Louis, I, 77, 93, 94, 95, 96.
 McLean, William I, 70, letter.
 McLeansboro, Ill., I, 69.
 McPherson, Col. James, II, 18, 19.
 Mad river, I, 12, 20; III, 17, iv (app.).
 Mahaes, Jean, F. N., II, 48, 49, 50, 54, 73.
 Mallet, Mr., I, 58.
 Mamie, Mr., II, 89.
 Mansfield, Jared, III, 12.
 Marietta, (O.), II, 78, 81, 92.
 Marnesia, Mr., II, 75.
 Marshall, Dr. V. C., II, 20.
 Mason, Genl. A. T., II, 109.
 Mathews, Father, I, 39.
 Maury, Mr. (U. S. Consul), I, 70.
 Meason, George, III, 88.
 Meigs, Capt., I, 49.
 Meigs, Genl. R. J., Jr., II, 86, 92.
 Memorial to Ohio Co., II, 89.
 Metcalf, Andrew, II, 13, letter.
 Mexico, II, 12.
 Mexican Embassy, II, 112, 113.
 Miami Country, II, 79, 80.
 Miami of the Lake, III, 17.
 Miami River, II, 101; III, 74.
 Michilimackinac, III, 18.
 Mill Creek, I, 5; II, 102; III, 5, 6.
 Miller, Dr., III, 46.
 Miller James, II, 9, letter.
 Miller, R. H., II, 17, letter.
 Miller, William L., III, 86, letter.
 Milroy, Genl. Samuel, II, 16.
 Mills, Clark, I, 33, 42.
 Mills, Isaac, II, 14, letter.
 Mint (U. S.) at Philadelphia, II, 27, 32.
 Mississippi River, III, 16, 18.
 Missouri, Land Office, II, 8.
 Mitchell, Prof., III, 42.
 Mitchell, Dr., III, 23.
 Moluntha (Indian Chief), I, 15.
 Monongahela River, II, 82.
 Monroe, James, II, 15.
 Morgan, Jesse, II, 21, letter.
 Morris, Thomas, II, 23.
 Morrison, James, II, 104, 105.
 Morrow, Jeremiah, III, 97.
 Mulenberg, H. A., III, 83.
 Muskingum (O.), II, 59, 82, 83, 86.
 Nazareth (Pa.) Temperature, III, 15.
 Neville, Francis, II, 24.
 Neville, Jesse, letter of, II, 21.
 Neville, John S., II, 32.
 Neville, Morgan, letters of, I, 78, 85; II, 12, 20, 23, 24, 25, 28, 32, 120.
 Newell, Samuel, letter of, II, 18.
 New Orleans, II, 85.
 New York City, I, 76.
 New York (State), II, 61, 76, 81, 82, 83, 86; III, 83.
 New York Central Railroad, I, 54.
 New York Evening Post, I, 54.
 Noble, James, II, 22.
 North Bend (Ind.), III, 100.
 Notices Concerning Cincinnati, III, 1-5.
 Nullifiers, I, 90.
 Officers of U. S. Mint, Salaries of, II, 32.
 Ohio (State), I, 75, 76, 91; II, 12, 118-120; III, 88.
 Ohio Company, II, 43, 74, 89, 90, 91, 92.
 Ohio Company Purchase, II, 101.
 Ohio Legislature, I, 75; II, 7.
 Ohio River, I, 3, 12, 21, 23, 27; II, 43, 48, 55; III, 5, 6, 9, 15, 16, 19, 24.
 Ohio River Flood, III, 74.
 Ohio State Journal, I, 75, 76.
 Owen, Thomas J., II, 21.
 Oxford (Vessel), I, 53.
 Panama Congress, I, 73.
 Panama Mission, II, 10.
 Panama Question, II, 115.
 Paris, France, II, 48, 54, 58, 64, 71, 72, 89.

- Paris Agreement, II, 48-54.
 Paroquet (Bird), III, 16.
 Patterson, Col. Robert, I, 12, 25, 27.
 Pendleton, Nathaniel G., III, 69.
 Pennsylvania, II, 7, 20; III, 83, 84, 85, 87.
 Pennsylvania Canal, I, 73; III, 98.
 Philadelphia, I, 6; II, 105.
 Philadelphia Temperature, III, 12-15.
 Piatt, John H., II, 105.
 Pierce, Mr. (of R. I.), II, 118.
 Pierce, Franklin, I, 33-39, 43, 44, 46, 47, 58.
 Pierce, Joseph, III, 17.
 Pike, Mrs. Z. M., III, 71-73.
 Pittsburgh, I, 3, 23, 79; II, 81, 89; III, 98.
 Playfair, William, II, 48-50, 52, 54, 55, 66, 67, 72 letter, 90.
 Poinsett, J. R., II, 113.
 Pollock, James T., II, 23.
 Ponciattica, Marquis of, I, 38, 39, 47.
 Porter, David Rittenhouse, III, 87, 88.
 Powell, Col. A. H., II, 117, 118.
 Powers, Hiram, Letters of, I, 33-59.
 Prather & Smiley, II, 102.
 Pre-emption Right, Transfer of, II, 43.
 President's (Andrew Jackson) Proclamation, II, 36.
 Prince, Capt. Joseph, III, 7.
 Prince, William, II, 102.
 Pugh, George E., I, 33-35, 44, 49.
 Putnam, Genl. Rufus, II, 75, 77, 80, 88, 90.
 Letters of, II, 82, 83, 84, 87.
 Rameau, Mr., II, 55.
 Ramsey, Col., I, 84.
 Ramsey, Dr., II, 105.
 Ramsey, John, II, 26.
 Rectors, Messrs., III, 16.
 Red Stone (Va.), II, 82, 83, 84, 88.
 Republican Institutions, II, 37.
 Richardson, John, I, 55.
 Richmond, Va., II, 100, 116.
 Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, I, 33; III, 83.
 Robb, David, II, 18.
 Ritner, Joseph, III, 83, 84, 87, 88.
 Rochefontain, Maj., II, 59, 62, 63.
 Rogers, Mr., I, 49.
 Rome, Mr., II, 88.
 Ross, Hugh, I, 16.
 Ross, James, II, 116.
 Ross, Thomas R., II, 8.
 Ruffin, Maj. Wm., III, 8.
 Rush, Prof., III, 40, 41, 54, 58.
 Rush, Richard, II, 9, 118, 119, 120; III, 83.
 St. Clair, Arthur, letter of, II, 22.
 St. Didier, Antoine, II, 48, 49, 54.
 St. Genevieve, III, 16.
 St. Laurence, III, 22.
 Salem (O.), I, 1.
 Sandusky (O.) Road, II, 19.
 Sargent, John, II, 116.
 Sargent, Maj. Winthrop, II, 43, 45, 54, 75, 76; III, 18, 19.
 Schoepf, Dr., III, 47.
 Schulze, J. A., I, 73; II, 119.
 Scioto Company (of America), II, 46, 49-54, 55, 57, 63, 66, 71-73, 82, 90, 91.
 Scioto Company (of Europe), II, 58, 62, 66, 71, 78.
 Scioto River, II, 43, 48, 55, 59, 62; II, 101.
 Scotch-Irish (of Penn.), II, 11.
 Scott, Genl. Winfield, III, 100.
 Secretary of Finance (U. S.), II, 60, 63, 81.
 Secretary of War (U. S.), II, 86.
 Selman, Dr., III, 58.
 Seminole War, II, 109.
 Shawnees, I, 15.
 Short, Mr. (Peyton), II, 103; III, 74.
 Silliman, Dr., II, 102.
 Simonson, James, III, 88.
 Sloo, Thomas, Jr., I, 69, 72; II, 107.
 Sloo, Mrs. Thomas, Jr., I, 74.
 Smith, ———, II, 106.
 Smith, Ensign, I, 18, 20.
 Smith, James, II, 100, 101.
 Smith, Genl. John Spear, I, 95.
 Smith, Genl. Samuel, I, 95; II, 32.
 Snodgrass, William, III, ii (app.).
 South American Governments, II, 11.
 Southern Wilderness Road, I, 6.
 Spalding, Dr., III, 50.
 Spanish Posts, II, 109.
 Spawnee Town, III, I, 72.
 Spencer, O. M., II, 116, letter.
 Springfield (O.), III, 89.
 Springmill, III, 13, 14.
 Stafford, Mr., I, 17.
 Staunton (O.), III, iv (app.).
 Steel, John, II, 31, 35.
 Sterrett, Capt., I, 29.
 Steubenville (O.), II, 17.
 Stewart, Andrew, II, 33, 34; III, 87, 97.
 Stony Mountains, III, 18.
 Storer, Bellamy, II, 117; III, 82.
 Stucker, Capt. Jacob, I, 15-17; 23-25, 27-29.
 Sumralls Ferry, II, 84, 87.
 Sunday Mails, I, 78.
 Sutherland, Joel B., II, 33.
 Swan, Maj., III, 18.
 Swan, Caleb, II, 99 letter. (See errata.)
 Swearengen, Isaac, III, 76.
 Sydenham, Dr., III, 49.
 Symmes, Judge J. C., III, 7.
 Tax on Teas, etc., II, 29.
 Taylor, Genl. James, II, 104, 105.
 Taylor, W. H. H., III, 82, 100, 101.
 Temperance, I, 39, 43.
 Terre Haute, Ind., II, 16.
 Thiebout, Mr., II, 89.
 Thomas, Mr., II, 102.
 Thomas, Judge Jesse B., I, 71.
 Thompson, Hon. John, II, 21.
 Thory, Mr., II, 88.
 Todd, James, III, 88.
 Todd, Robert, I, 20.
 Torrence, David, III, 89.
 Torrence, George P., I, 69, 70, 73, 84; III, 81, 82, 86, 88, 89, 90.
 Letters of, II, 8, 10, 11, 18, 23, 30.
 Torrence, Joseph, III, 88.
 Torrence, John, I, 84.
 Torrence, Nancy, III, 74.
 Torrence Papers, I, 65; III, 67.
 Trevor, John B., III, 84, letter.
 Trimble, David, I, 74.
 Trotter, Col. James, I, 13.
 Troussie, Mr., II, 73.
 United States Banks, I, 86.
 United States Government, I, 87-89.
 United States Political Condition, I, 37.
 Van Buren Party, I, 91.
 Van Buren, Martin, I, 92, 93; II, 17, 28; III, 83, 84, 86-88.
 Vance, Joseph, I, 74; II, 8, 33.
 Vance, Samuel C., II, 8.
 Van Horne, Thomas B., III, 96.
 Vanleer, John, II, 82.
 Vevay (Ky.), I, 30.
 Vincennes (Ind.), II, 101, 102.
 Virginia, I, 6; II, 83.
 Virginia Anti-Jackson Convention, II, 117.
 Virginia Reserve, II, 101.
 Volney, Constantin F. S., III, 8, 17, 21, 22.
 Wabash Expedition, I, 12.
 Wabash River, I, 21; III, 18.

<p>Wade, David, II, 23, 25. Walker, Benjamin, II, 65-67, 78. Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, I, 54. Ward, Capt. (James ?), I, 23. Ward, Mr. (bro. of Mrs. Thomas Crawford), I, 54. Washington (D. C.), I, 34, 39, 40, 43, 67-69, 70, 74-76, 79, 89; II, 104, 107, 108, 112-117; III, 21. Washington, George, I, 7; III, 94. Washington, George, Statue of, I, 33, 57. Washington National Republican, II, 18. Watson, Judge, III, 74, 81. Webster, Daniel, I, 38, 92; III, 80. Webster, Daniel, Statue of, II, 41, 53, 54. Wellsburgh at mouth of Buffalo, II, 84. Western Mails, II, 108. Western Territory (U. S.), II, 43, 62, 90. West Point, Board of annual visitors, I, 86. Wever, Mr., III, 91, 92.</p>	<p>Wever, Mrs. Jane C., III, 91, letter. White, Campbell P., II, 34. Whiteman, Lewis, III, 70, 82, 96. Whitlock, Andrew, II, 14, letter. Wilkins, William, II, 36. Wilkinson, Genl. (James), II, 100. Williams, Mr. (of N. Car.), II, 108. Williams, Thomas H. (of Miss.), II, 8. Willing, Thomas M., II, 105. Wislon, Dr., III, 49. Winchester, Va., II, 88. Winchester, Genl. (James), II, 110, 111. Winds (of Cincinnati), III, 20, 21. Winds of Eastern States, Tables of, III, 20. Withering, Dr., III, 53. Wolcot, Dr. Alexander, II, 21. Wolf, George, III, 83. Youghiogana River, II, 87; III, 88. Zane, Isaac, I, 18.</p>
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ERRATA

Volume I, page 63, Contents VII, strike out "James" and insert "Samuel" Findlay.

Volume II, pages 95, 99, strike out "G. S. Wau" and insert "C. Swan."

Volume III, pages 67, 84, 86, strike out "G." and insert "J." B. Trevor.

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PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF WILLIAM LYTLE.

My father was an emigrant from Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, near Carlisle. In the autumn of 1779 he left home with his family for Kentucky, then a part of Virginia. He did not reach the Monongahela until the winter was too far advanced to allow his descending the Ohio before spring. In company with two men who were bound with their families to the same point, he built three large arks, or, as they were afterwards called, Kentucky boats. The winter proved uncommonly severe and, by suspending the operations of the sawmills in that country, procrastinated their arrangements until the first of April following. By advertisements all the adventurers in that part of the country who were bound to Kentucky were requested to assemble on a large island in the Ohio a few miles below Pittsburgh. It was proposed to remain here until a sufficient force should have assembled to pass with safety amidst the country of savage hostility which lay between them and Kentucky.

WILLIAM LYTLE, 1770-1831.

First Prothonotary of Clermont County; Member of General Assembly at Chillicothe; Lieut. Col. of the 4th regiment, 1st brigade, 1st division Ohio militia, Commission dated August 10, 1804; Major General 7th division, Commission dated Feb. 20, 1808; Surveyor General of territory northwest of the Ohio for four years; President of the first Humane Society, organized 1819; Stockholder in the first Lancasterian Seminary, 1814; first President of the Cincinnati College to which he gave \$10,000 in 1818; stockholder in the first woolen mill in Cincinnati; one of the original Directors in the Miami Exporting Co., 1803; founder of the town of Williamsburg, Point Pleasant and Fort Clinton, O.; in 1797 constructed road through the wilderness from Williamsburgh to the State Capital, Chillicothe, afterwards part of the national post road; in 1780 was engaged in a fight with the Indians on what is now the levee on Front St., before Cincinnati was settled; in 1786 served in the campaign against the Mac-o-chee Indians referred to in Journal; served in the War of 1812; died in the house on Lawrence St., March 17, 1831. This house, known as the Lytle house, erected by General Lytle in 1809, is still standing in Lytle Park, now the property of the city of Cincinnati.

So numerous was the concourse of adventurers to this point that in two days after his arrival sixty-three boats were ready to sail in company. A part of these boats were occupied by families; another by young men descending the river to explore the country, and the remaining portion by the cattle belonging to the emigrants.

The number of fighting men on board probably amounted to nearly a thousand. My father had been a practiced soldier in the former wars of the country and had been stationed for three years at Pittsburgh. He was, of course, versed in the modes, requisites and stratagems of Indian warfare.

A number of his associates had been trained in the same way. The descending boats were arranged in an order of defense, not, perhaps, entirely according to the technical exactness of a fleet in line of battle. Pilot boats headed the advance. The boats manned by the young men sustained each wing, having the family boats in the center and the stock boats immediately in the rear of them, and the rear guard boats floating still behind them. The boats moved with great circumspection, floating onwards, until they were abreast of a place favorable for furnishing range and grazing for the cattle, when they landed and turned them loose for this purpose. While their cattle were thus foraging in the joy of their short emancipation from the close prison of the boats, their owners kept a vigilant watch outside of their range to prevent the savages from assaulting them.

We arrived without molestation at Limestone, now Maysville. Captain Hinkston, of our company, with three or four other families, concluded to remain here. They immediately commenced the customary preparations for rearing cabins. We tarried with them but half a day, during which time a company from our number turned out to hunt in the wild woods. The party killed several buffaloes, and I now for the first time tasted their flesh. At 10 o'clock the next morning, April 12th, 1780, the pilot boats gave signals that the enemy were drawn up in hostile array on the northern or what was called the Indian shore of the Ohio. Three boats immediately landed in a concerted order half a mile above the foe. It was arranged that half the fighting men should be in readiness to spring to the shore the moment the boats should touch the land; they were then to form and march down upon the Indian

encampment. The Indians were encamped opposite Licking, where Front street now intersects Broadway in Cincinnati. Their number did not much exceed 150, whereas we numbered nearly 500. Discovering a force so much superior moving rapidly upon them, they fled in so much haste and disorder as to leave part of their movables behind them. Our party pursued them four or five miles up what is now called Mill Creek. Some of the Indians were on horseback and they fled faster than their wearied pursuers could follow them on foot.

We returned to our boats and floated unmolested to Beargrass, at the Falls of Ohio. We arrived on the 15th of April. After surveying the vicinity my father selected a place five miles back from the river. It was a large body of land of extreme fertility, and in the center of it was a fine spring. Here he encamped and commenced clearing. In a short time he was joined by more than forty families. In a fortnight they had built as many cabins, in four straight lines, so as to form a hollow square. At the angles were block houses. The cabin doors all opened into the hollow square. In the center of one of the sides, leading to the spring, was a large gateway, and one of the same dimensions to match on the opposite side. The planks of the boats in which they had descended the river were wagoned out from the river to furnish floors and doors for these dwellings. Through the walls were portholes from which, in case of attack, they fired upon the foe.

Thus sheltered and defended, their next object was gardens and fields. A small reserve remained in the enclosure and were stationed on the tops of the houses to survey the scene of operations and give notice of approaching danger. The new settlement suffered little annoyance till June, when Indian hostilities, manifested in the customary way, broke out on every side. In some instances they were successful in breaking up whole stations, and in others they were severely chastised, as in the expedition undertaken against them by George Rogers Clark.

This punishment restrained them a sufficient interval of peace to enable us to gather in our crops of corn. We witnessed with astonishment the results of a virgin soil that had never been cultivated. The extent of ground cultivated by each individual was necessarily small. Some of the settlers had the curiosity to measure the amount of corn gathered from an acre. It ranged from

eighty to one hundred and twenty bushels. Most of the immigrants had removed from a thin and barren soil which required assiduous cultivation even for small crops which it yielded. Here the horn of plenty seemed to be emptied almost spontaneously. They had generally come also from a much severer climate. The inclemency of the former winter had led them to prepare for a winter similar to that of the country from which they had emigrated. They made careful and laborious preparations for the severe weather, such as plastering the chasms of their cabins, gathering fuel, etc. But to their agreeable surprise there were but three days that might be denominated freezing weather, during the winter. These days were in the middle of January. For the rest the weather exhibited every variety of aspect that all the climates of the world could show, among which were frequent showers, thunder and lightning. This, it will be recollected, was the winter of 1780 and '81. It very much resembled the present winter (1828), except that we have had more cold days and not so many thunder showers.

In the spring of 1781, realizing the continual exposure of the family and the risk of his fine stock of cattle and horses, my father determined to move farther into the interior of Kentucky. Accordingly, he moved an hundred miles into the interior to Kincaid's Station, near where the town of Danville now stands.

That part of the country was filling rapidly with settlers from Virginia, who passed through what was then called the "Southern Wilderness Road." Although we felt ourselves much more secure here than in the position which we had left, the country beginning already to have an interior and frontier, we often experienced annoyance even here. The Indians frequently made inroads as far as to our present station, killing the cattle, stealing horses, and sometimes murdering the inhabitants.

I pass over the expedition of General Clark against the Indians, in which a number of their towns were destroyed, and the severe retaliation which they practiced along with their allies, the British; and also the bloody affair of the Blue Licks, and return to matters personal to my father's family. The gloom created by that disastrous conflict was diffused over all the country. All those who were not bound to it by ties of family made haste to escape from it, and in ten days scarcely more than three hundred

effective men were left in the country. But this extreme alarm soon passed away. The settlements were consolidated by joining the weaker to the stronger. The block houses were more strongly fortified, and the people, attached to their rural abundance and their peculiar ways of life, determined to remain where they were and defend themselves to extremities. In the subsequent autumn many adventurers joined us from the old settlements. The army of Lord Cornwallis had just surrendered to General Washington, and the American soldiers and their enterprising officers, disengaged from service by that event, flocked to this fertile wilderness. In the course of the next year we became more formidable than before. Although the Indian war still continued, the security inspired by numbers induced many families that had been painfully cooped up in close stations, to leave their enclosures and to disperse themselves on detached farms over the country.

In 1784 my father moved to Lexington and raised a crop on what are the out-lots of the present town. My father was entitled to a bounty of 3,000 acres of land, a little above the upper Blue Licks, in consequence of services rendered as a Captain in what was called the French War. It had been surveyed, but he wished to survey it more accurately. Accordingly, he made all the minute preparations requisite in such cases. I prevailed on him to allow me to accompany him. Accordingly, our party, well mounted, proceeded through the forest for the tract. We took along with us a number of led horses, according to custom in such cases, in order to bring a sufficiency of buffalo meat to serve the family during the subsequent winter. Our travel was laborious, for we were obliged to make our way through a thick canebrake. On the evening of the second day's journey we encamped on what my father believed to be his tract of land.

Our first business was to retrace the lines of the former survey. Our next was to hunt buffaloes and the other wild game of the country for subsistence. I was then fourteen years old, and my training in the mode of backwoods life, as well as inclination and practice, had given me a dexterity and closeness in the use of the rifle equal to the expertest Kentuckian of my years. We saw numerous traces of the animals of our search on every side. We performed an operation for our horses to prevent their escape, technically called in the Western country "hobbling," and with

this precaution left them to pasture in the canebrake. We suspended our baggage on the trees, to place it out of the reach of the wolves. We divided into three parties of pairs. My father and myself formed one. We had not advanced more than five miles from the point of separation before we discovered a gang of buffaloes feeding. My father paused, according to the necessary precautions, to observe the direction of the wind, ordering me to get to leeward of them. My orders were to shoot the blackest of the herd behind the shoulders. The expected consequence was that at the report of my gun the herd would turn and make toward him, when he calculated to be able to bring down another as they passed. I obeyed my instructions to the letter; but in the act of taking aim, scent of me probably reached them. My ball penetrated the body of the animal farther back than I intended, and he ran some distance before he fell. They did not take the direction which my father anticipated, and, although he eagerly pursued them for some distance, he failed in obtaining a shot. I recharged, pursued, and came up with my father, who had halted where the buffalo that I had brought down laid. The remainder of the herd escaped us. The animal was so wounded that it would soon die. For convenience my father determined to remove our camp to the buffalo. I had often killed bears, deer, and turkeys, but never a buffalo before. It may be imagined how much a boy of fourteen would be elated by such an exploit. My father proposed to test my backwoods discipline by requesting me to lead the way through the forest to the camp, distant six miles. I was in the frame of mind to express confidence in my ability to do it, even were the camp distant forty miles. I preceded him at a brisk walk until we came in sight of the camp. I saw a smile on my father's countenance, which I interpreted to be one of approbation of my skill. My father here beckoned me to stand, informing me that it was necessary to take a keen survey of the premises to ascertain whether savages might not be concealed about the camp awaiting our return. He then preceded me, walking softly, and with great caution inspecting every point in advance and behind us. Having convinced himself that there was no ambush on that side, he made a circuit and explored the other side of the camp in the same way. Having convinced ourselves that no enemy lurked around, we advanced to the fire, spread our blankets on the ground, and threw

ourselves on them for repose. He then admonished me of the necessity of untiring vigilance, reminding me that the danger from the wily foe was often greatest at the moment when the parties felt themselves most secure. He then directed me to keep a keen lookout on the north side of the camp, while he would do the same in regard to the south.

A stratagem was practiced upon us on this occasion which had well nigh proved fatal to the party practicing it. We had not been long on our mutual watch before I discovered a man lurking in advance toward the camp, keeping a tree between him and myself in order to screen his body from view. We reclined our feet toward the fire. My rifle was carefully loaded, the muzzle resting on a log at our heads. At first I supposed it to be one of our own men, and I determined to be farther satisfied before I alarmed my father. I discovered in a moment that he was approaching me with too much caution for that supposition; that he carefully inspected everything around us, and made his way with a soft and stealthy step. I allowed him to approach near enough to a tree at which he was aiming, to enable me to clearly discover that his face was blacked and that he wore no hat. I had hitherto remained motionless, and I was convinced he had not yet seen me. I cocked my rifle. Even this slight noise aroused my father, who lay with his back to mine, looking in a contrary direction. He asked me what I was doing. I informed him I was watching an Indian who was lurking toward us, apparently to fire upon us, and that I was waiting until he should reach a tree, toward which he was stealing, and expose his head so that I might give him a fatal shot. He asked me if I saw more than one, to which I answered in the negative. He then directed me to be sure of my aim, and not to fire until I should have gained sight of a mark in his eye. The person had now gained his tree, and had now rested his gun in a position to fire upon us. But as we reclined flat on the ground, and as a log in some measure protected our bodies from his fire, it was necessary for him to survey us closely in order to find any part of our bodies sufficiently exposed to receive his shot. This I comprehended from his movements, and waited my own opportunity. In putting his head from behind the tree for this close inspection, he exposed half of it. I took aim and drew the trigger, but the gun missed fire. The person, hearing the noise, instantly jerked back

his head. "I am sorry for that," said my father in a low tone of voice, and I replied in vexation that it was the first time it had failed me. It was two minutes before the person exposed his head for a second survey of us. He once more showed his face, so as almost to give me a shot at him. He finally presented two-thirds of his face, and my gun missed fire a second time. Hearing this more distinctly than the first snapping, he again jerked back his head and exclaimed, "Why, I believe you have been snapping at me!" I immediately recognized the voice to be that of Crawford, one of our men. He had thrown off his hat and blacked his face, as he informed us, with a view to frighten me. We were both provoked at this wanton folly, and I assured him that I still had a good mind to shoot him. My father severely reprimanded him, and I remarked with astonishment upon the circumstance that my rifle had twice missed fire. To show him the extent of his exposure, I pointed to a white spot on the tree behind which he had been concealed. I observed to him that it was not larger than his eye, and that I would demonstrate to him what his fate would have been in case my gun had not missed fire. I presented, and my ball carried the bark of the white spot into the tree.

The other men soon after came in. We immediately saddled our horses, mounted, and moved off to the place where our buffalo laid. We encamped there for the night and feasted upon the choice pieces of the animal. I found myself ill during the night, and in the morning my father discovered that I had the measles and that they appeared on my face. He proposed, in consequence, to take me home. It was distant nearly seventy miles, and I was unwilling to interrupt the business for which he had come out, in this way, and I so informed him, proposing to return alone. He replied that it would be necessary for me to sleep out at least two nights alone, and that I might become worse on the journey. I answered that I had no apprehensions of the kind and that it would not be the first time I had spent nights alone in the woods. In reply my father renewed his objections, pointing out the additional dangers from the Indians on such a long way. But I overcame all his objections and was allowed to start off alone. It was a long excursion through a wilderness which apprehension had too much reason to people with savages. I had the measles, and was but fourteen years old. But such was the training of the youths of that period in the woods.

I commenced my journey, stopping twice the first day to let my horse feed upon the grass. I took care to select a spot in the open woods, where I could survey the country for a great distance around me. I saw abundance of game on my way, but having no use for it, and being charged by my father to make no unnecessary delay, I allowed it to pass unmolested. At nightfall I struck a considerable stream. It was easily fordable. Thinking if any enemy came on my track it would be easy to baffle him here, I rode up the middle of the stream half a mile and ascended a branch that fell into the stream two or three hundred yards. I then left the branch and rode on a mile to a tree top which afforded plenty of dry wood. I dismounted, hobbled my horse to feed for the night, kindled me a bright fire, used some of my provisions, laid myself down to sleep, thinking as little about the measles and my lonely situation as possible.

The next morning I started at early dawn, expecting to reach home that night. At 10 o'clock I discovered a very large bear in my course. The temptation to give the animal a shot was irresistible to one of my years and inclinations. I dismounted and killed the animal. Although I could make no use of the carcass, I determined to carry home the skin as a trophy. I found it a difficult business, in the first place, to arrange the large, heavy and greasy hide so that it could be carried on horseback. It so frequently slipped from under me that I found I must either leave it or tarry out another night. I concluded on the latter. I had considerable fever during this night, and did not sleep much. I set off in the morning with the first twilight and reached Lexington at noon the next day. I was nearly recovered. In ten days afterwards my father and his party returned.

Early in the spring of 1785, my father, with my brother and myself, went out to his lands, sixteen miles from Lexington, and erected a couple of cabins. He then moved his family there and commenced clearing the lands. But in a few days we discovered traces of Indians in our vicinity. As it was an unprotected frontier establishment, my father deemed it necessary to enclose his cabin in a stockade. It was done with three lines of palisades, the cabins making the fourth side. During the year we were not much annoyed by the Indians. But the next summer they took from us thirteen fine horses at one time. We raised a party and pursued

them. We came in sight of them just as they had completed swimming the horses over to a sandbank on the opposite side of the Ohio. When they discovered us they exclaimed from the opposite shore that we were too late and might go home again. We had the comfort of exclaiming back again that they were thieving rascals, and asking them if they were not ashamed of what they had been doing. They replied, with great coolness, not at all; that a few horses now and then was all the rent they obtained of us for their Kentucky lands. They outnumbered us three to one, and of course we had no other prudent course but to follow that of their advising and return home without our horses.

It was in the autumn of this year that General Clark raised the forces for the Wabash expedition. They constituted a numerous corps. Colonel Logan was detached from the army, at the Falls of the Ohio, to raise a considerable force with which to proceed against the Indian villages on the head waters of Mad River and the Great Miami. I was then aged sixteen, and too young to come within the legal requisition. But I offered myself as a volunteer, hoping to find and reclaim my father's horses. I need not relate the circumstances of the failure of General Clark's expedition. Colonel Logan went on to his destination, and would have surprised the Indian towns against which he marched had not one of his men deserted to the enemy, not long before they reached the towns, who gave notice of their approach. As it was, he burned eight large towns and destroyed many fields of corn. He took seventy or eighty prisoners and killed twenty warriors, and among them the head chief of the nation. This last act caused deep regret, humiliation and shame to the commander and his troops.

We came in view of the two first towns, one of which stood on the west bank of Mad River, and the other on the northeast of it. They were separated by a prairie half a mile in extent. The town on the northeast was situated on a high, commanding point of land that projected a small distance into the prairie, at the foot of which eminence broke out several fine springs. This was the residence of the famous chief of the nation. His flag was flying, at the time, from the top of a pole sixty feet high. We had advanced in three lines, the commander with some of the horsemen marching at the head of the center line, and the footmen in their rear. Colonel Robert Patterson commanded the left, and I think Colonel

Thomas Kennedy the right. When we came in sight of the towns the spies of the front guard made a halt and sent a man back to inform the commander of the situation of the two towns. He ordered Colonel Patterson to attack the towns on the left bank of Mad River. Colonel Kennedy was also charged to incline a little to the right of the town, on the east side of the prairie. He determined himself to charge with the center division immediately on the upper town. I heard the commander give his orders and caution the Colonels against allowing their men to kill any among the enemy that they might suppose to be prisoners. He then ordered them to advance, and as soon as they should discover the enemy to charge upon them. I had my doubts touching the propriety of some parts of the arrangements. I was willing, however, to view the affair with the diffidence of youth and inexperience. At any rate, I determined to be at hand to see all that was going on and to be as near the head of the line as my Colonel would permit. I was extremely solicitous to try myself in battle. The commander at the head of the center line waved his sword over his head as a signal for the troops to advance. Colonel Daniel Boone and Major (since General) Kenton commanded the advance, and Colonel Trotter the rear. As we approached within half a mile of the town on the left and about three-fourths from that on the right, we saw the savages retreating in all directions, making for the thickets, swamps and high prairie grass to secure them from their enemy. I was animated with the energy with which the commander conducted the head of his line. He waved his sword and in a voice of thunder exclaimed, "Charge from right to left."

The horses appeared as impatient for the onset as their riders. As we came up with the flying savages I was disappointed, discovering that we should have little to do. I heard but one savage, with the exception of the chief, cry for quarter. They fought with desperation as long as they could raise knife, gun or tomahawk, after they found that they could not screen themselves. We despatched all the warriors that we overtook, and sent the women and children prisoners to the rear. We pushed ahead, still hoping to overtake a larger body, where we might have something like a general engagement. I was mounted on a very fleet gray horse. Fifty of my companions followed me. I had not advanced more than a mile before I discovered some of the enemy running along

the edge of a thicket of hazel and plum bushes. I made signs to the men in my rear to come on. At the same time pointing to the flying enemy, I obliques across the plain so as to get in advance of them. When I arrived within fifty yards of them I dismounted and raised my gun. I discovered at this moment some men of the right wing coming up on the left. The warrior I was about to shoot held up his hand in token of surrender, and I heard him order the other Indians to stop. By this time the men behind had arrived and were in the act of firing upon the Indians. I called to them not to fire—that the enemy had surrendered. The warrior that had surrendered to me came walking toward me, calling his women and children to follow him. I advanced to meet him with my right hand extended. But before I could reach him the men of the right wing of our force had surrounded him. I rushed in among their horses. While he was giving me his hand several of our men wished to tomahawk him. I informed them they would have to tomahawk me first. We led him back to the place where his flag had been. We had taken thirteen prisoners. Among them were the chief, his three wives, one of them a young and handsome woman, another the famous grenadier squaw, upwards of six feet high, and two or three fine young lads.* The rest were children. One of these lads was a remarkably interesting youth of about my own age and size. He clung closely to me and appeared keenly to notice everything that was going on.

When we arrived at the town a crowd of our men pressed around us to see the chief. I stepped aside to fasten my horse, and my prisoner lad clung to my side. A young man of the name of Currier had been to one of the springs to drink. He discovered the young savage by my side and came running toward me. The young Indian supposed he was advancing to kill him. As I turned round, in the twinkling of an eye he let fly an arrow at Currier, for he was armed with a bow. I had just time to catch his arm as he discharged the arrow. It passed through Currier's dress and grazed his side. The jerk I gave his arm undoubtedly prevented the arrow from killing Currier on the spot. I took away the remainder of his arrows and sternly reprimanded him. I then led him back to the crowd which surrounded the prisoners. At the

* Sister of Cornstalk, who fell at Point Pleasant.

some moment Colonel McGary, the same man who had caused the disaster at the Blue Licks some years before, came riding up. General Logan had just then given orders to dispose of the prisoners in one of the houses and place a guard over them, and had reined his horse around when his eye caught that of McGary. "Colonel McGary," said he, "you must not molest these prisoners." "I will see to that," said McGary in reply. I forced my way through the crowd to the chief with my young charge by the hand. McGary ordered the crowd to open and let him in. He came up to the chief, and the first salutation was the question, "Were you at the defeat of the Blue Licks?" The Indian, not knowing the meaning of the words or not understanding the purport of the question, answered, "Yes." McGary instantly seized an axe from the hands of the grenadier squaw and raised it to make a blow at the chief. I threw up my arm to ward off the blow. The handle of the axe struck me across the left wrist and came near breaking it. The axe sunk into the head of the chief to the eyes, and he fell dead at my feet.* Provoked beyond measure at this wanton barbarity, I drew my knife with the purpose to avenge his cruelty by despatching him. My arm was arrested by one of our men, which prevented my inflicting the thrust. McGary escaped from the crowd. The officer at that moment came up with his guards, ordering the men to open the crowd, and desiring the prisoners to follow him to the guardhouse. The lad that was my prisoner caught my hand and held fast to me. I walked with them to the guardhouse, into which they were ordered. A strong guard was placed around the house. Other prisoners were brought in until the house was nearly filled. A detachment was then ordered off to two other towns, distant six or eight miles. The men and prisoners were ordered to march down to the lower town and encamp. As we marched out of the upper town we fired it, collecting a large pile of corn for our horses, and beans, pumpkins, etc., for our own use. I told Captain Stucker, who messed with me, that I had seen several hogs running about the town which appeared to be in good order, and that I thought a piece of fresh pork would relish well with our stock of vegetables. He readily

* The name of the Indian chief killed by McGary was Moluntha, the great statesman of the Shawnees.

assenting to it, we went in pursuit of them ; but as orders had been given not to shoot unless at an enemy, after finding the hogs we had to run them down on foot until we got near enough to tomahawk them. Being engaged at this for some time before we killed one, while Captain S. was in the act of striking the hog I cast my eye along the edge of the woods that skirted the prairie and saw an Indian coming along with a deer on his back. The fellow happened to raise his head at that moment, and, looking across the prairie to the upper town, saw it all in flames. At the same moment I spoke to Stucker in a low voice that there was an Indian coming. In the act of turning my head around to speak to Stucker, I discovered Hugh Ross, brother-in-law to Colonel Kennedy, at the distance of about sixty or seventy yards, approaching us. I made a motion with my hand to Ross to squat down ; then, taking a tree between myself and the Indian, I slipped somewhat nearer him to get a fairer shot, when at the instant I raised my gun past the tree, the Indian being about one hundred yards distant, Ross' ball whistled by me so close that I felt the wind of it, and struck the Indian on the calf of one of his legs. The Indian that moment dropped his deer and sprang into the high grass of the prairie. All this occurred so quickly that I had not time to draw a sight on him before he was hid by the grass. I was provoked at Ross for shooting when I was near enough to have killed him. And now the consequence would be that some of our men would probably lose their lives, as a wounded Indian would give up only with his life. Accordingly, Captain Irwin at that moment rode up with his troop of horse and asked me where the Indian was. I pointed as nearly as I could to the spot where I last saw him in the grass, cautioning the Captain, if he missed him the first charge, to pass on out of his reach before he wheeled to recharge, or the Indian would kill some of his men in the act of wheeling. Whether the Captain heard me I cannot say ; at any rate, the warning was not attended to, for after passing the Indian a few steps, Captain Irwin ordered his men to wheel and recharge across the woods, and in the act of executing the movement, the Indian raised up and shot the Captain dead on the spot, still keeping below the level of the grass so as to deprive us of an opportunity to put a bullet through him. The troop charged again, but the Indian was so active that he had darted into the grass some

rods from where he had fired at Irwin, and they again missed him. By this time several footmen had got up. Captain Stucker and myself had taken each of us a tree that stood out in the edge of the prairie among the grass, when a Mr. Stafford came up and put his head first past one side and then the other of the tree I was behind. I told him not to expose himself that way or he would get shot in a moment. I had hardly expressed the last word when the Indian again raised up out of the grass. His gun, Stucker's and my own, with four or five behind us, all cracked at the same instant. Stafford fell at my side, while we rushed on the wounded Indian with our tomahawks. Before we got him despatched he had made ready the powder in his gun, and a ball in his mouth, prepared for a third fire, with bullet holes in his breast that might all have been covered with a man's open hand. We found with him Captain Beasley's rifle, the Captain having been killed near the Lower Blue Licks a few days before the army passed through that place on their way to the towns.

Next morning General Logan ordered another detachment to attack a town that lay seven or eight miles to the north or northwest of where we then were. On our way up we discovered an Indian on horseback at some distance ahead of us, who at that moment wheeled his horse and rode off under the whip. A small party pursued him and run him past five horses he had tied to a tree in a thicket of woods. They returned with the horses just as we were approaching the town, when we saw two Indians coming out of one of the houses, jump on their horses that had been standing hitched to a post. Three of us took after them. Our Captain hallooed after us not to pursue further than the woods across the prairie; but, finding the woods open and clear of underbrush, we kept up the pursuit, aware that we could see Indians in open woods as soon as they could see us. We had been gaining on them all the time, and as I was on a fleet horse, and a lighter rider than the other two. I had kept from fifty to sixty yards ahead of my companions, when jumping a log, my saddle girth broke, and my saddle, of course, gave way. I, however, alighted on my feet, and immediately fired at one of the Indians, then at about fifty yards distance. I saw in a moment that he had been struck. The other men coming up sprang off their horses, and both fired at the other Indian, the one I had shot at having left his horse and taken to a

swamp just on his right, into which he was followed by the other Indian, who, I was satisfied, was also wounded.

In 1807, I was in that part of the country, and Isaac Zane showed me the very place where his cabin stood at the time, it being now rotted down, adding, that in about five minutes after the report of the first rifle the Indian it had been fired at came running to his cabin with a shot in his shoulder which made him a cripple in his right arm for life. Zane was then married to a squaw, and had at the place his wife and several children at the time. We then returned with the Indians' horses and one or both of their guns, setting fire to the town and a large block house that the English had built there of a huge size and thickness, and so returned that evening to the main body. But from the hard riding, and my horse drinking too freely when overheated, together with eating too much Indian corn, he became so badly foundered that I despaired of getting him home.

On our return to camp, it being late in the evening, we had only time to swallow a mouthful of food before orders issued from headquarters to strike our tents and march in fifteen minutes. It was then dark, but the moon, which was near the full, gave light occasionally as she burst from behind some dark cloud. Our course led us across the prairies, and as we had to retrace the ground on which our columns had marched, we found a well-beaten road, which was a great advantage at night. The Captain I had selected on joining the army was James McDowell, a fine, manly, noble-hearted fellow. He came to me just as the army was moving off their encampment and suggested to me that I had better get my horse as near the front as possible; that he would travel better in the center line, as that was an old worn path and better beaten than either of the side lines, and fall in directly in rear of the front guard, before the prisoners, and he would send Ensign Smith to assist me. I profited by his friendly advice, and Mr. Smith and myself moved up to where the front guard had halted, where we remained for a moment, when we heard the well-known, tremendous voice of Logan almost half a mile in the rear, "Move on in front." We instantly obeyed the order. I directed Smith to whip up my foundered horse, while I led or rather dragged him after me. Our course led down the prairies, and was seldom interrupted by any of the dark forests on either

side. I discovered before we had marched far that our lines were too far extended, and heard the same hoarse, deep voice about a mile in the rear, muttering like a heavy roll of distant thunder, "Rear guard, move up; why these vacancies in your lines?" As we found the voice approaching we quickened our steps, and in a short time got to the guard having charge of the prisoners immediately in my rear. "Why, sir, do you suffer this vacant space between the prisoners and the front guard?" "Some of the squaws have children to carry, and are not able to march faster," replied the officer of the guard. "Change them, then, with those on horseback, sir, and do not let me have to repeat to you to force them to the front." I had suffered my foundered brute to occupy no more space than the length of the rifle that laid on his left shoulder, when turning round my head a little rearwards, I discovered *that Goliath* approaching, growling all the time, on an animal resembling an elephant for size more than a horse. He was just then in the act of bringing down the flat of his tremendous sword on the back of my poor foundered animal, and repeating it three or four times. "Damn you, what brought you here in front of the prisoners with your horse?" approaching me as he waved his sword; "you merit this more than your horse." I could stand this no longer, but brought my gun to my shoulder, sprung my double trigger and leveled at him. Smith sprang forward like lightning, and threw up the muzzle, exclaiming, "For God's sake, don't kill the General!" General Logan wheeled to the right about, and appeared, after moving a few paces, to come to a halt. Smith advanced to him and explained the cause, adding, "This is a young man in your army—is a volunteer, and has gone through more fatigue service this day than any other man in the line. His horse has been foundered from two long and severe chases after Indians to-day, and Captain McDowell, to whose command he belongs, directed him to take the position he did, as his horse would not be able to travel in the rear."

"I knew nothing of this before, sir, and am sorry that I was so severe. I will go and speak to him, for he appears to be a choice spirit." The General, accompanied by Ensign Smith, overtook me. "My young soldier," said the General, "I am sorry I treated you so harshly. I had ordered the prisoners and wounded men, with their guards, to take their position near the advance guard in

the center column, and was astonished when I came up to find a crippled horse between them, but, on explanation, I am convinced you were only obeying your Captain's orders." I replied, "Young as I may be in the service and discipline, I feel proud in saying that I never disobeyed the order of a superior officer, and when I have, as I believe, done my duty, I will not permit even the Commander-in-Chief to *run over me* with impunity." "I like your spirit, my young volunteer; that is manly and noble. Incline to the left and resume your position. The center line is the best road for your lame horse, and, as soon as we halt for the night, call on me at headquarters." I did as directed, and after about two hours' march we came to a point of woods which projected some distance into the prairie, out of which issued one of those pure and living branches of Mad River, where we encamped for the night. I led my horse directly to the creek, when I got him into the water about knee deep, and tied his bridle to a swinging limb, so that he could not lead his head down. I laid down my knapsack, and struck fire while the men collected wood, and had just got the fire to burn when Captain McDowell came up and asked me how I got on with my lame horse. I told him pretty well, though he was remarkably stiff and lame. "Yes, Smith tells me, also, that the General wanted to turn you out of the road." "I am sorry Mr. Smith said anything on the subject, as I wished it to remain between ourselves." "Well," said Captain McD., "if Smith had not turned the muzzle of your piece aside it would have leaked out ten miles back, I expect. But come," said he, "and we will see the General. He knows more of you now, and probably likes you better than at the moment."

We found the General giving some orders respecting the wounded and prisoners, which done, Captain McDowell observed, "General Logan, let me make you acquainted with Mr. Lytle, a young volunteer soldier of yours." The fire burned bright, and he had a full view of my face. As he extended his hand, he said, "I believe my young volunteer and I had a slight interview not more than ten miles back," smiling as he spoke and grasping my hand cordially; "we were then in the dark; I am now glad to see him and his Captain at my fire." The General from that time till his death treated me as kindly as a father would his son.

When I got home I found Mr. Robert Todd had arrived a few

moments before me, from Clark's expedition up the Wabash. He informed me of the men's mutinying and returning home at the very moment the troops expected an engagement with the enemy, which reduced Clark's forces so much that it would have been impolitic to have risked an action with the handful of men who remained, so the remnant returned home.

I went frequently to see my young Indian acquaintance and share with him whatever I might have to eat; but we parted at Limestone, when we crossed the Ohio River, and I did not see him for almost a year after, when I met him at Danville, on his being sent home to his nation from that place. The General gave him his own name of Logan, by which he ever afterwards went.

In the course of the next spring the Indians became troublesome, and we were much exposed in going out to the fields or the woods. To add to the difficulty, they set fire to one of the houses in the dead of night. This was the storehouse where our saddles, bridles, horse gears, tools and provisions were secured. By this stratagem they no doubt expected we should open the front gate to get water to put out the fire, when they would rush in, and, guided by the light, readily shoot down and tomahawk the inmates, whom they supposed would be thrown into confusion, between the enemy and the devouring element. But the kind care of an overruling Providence directed otherwise. By the signs we had discovered in the woods for several days my father had apprehended an attack, and had already sent off an express for a reinforcement. That very night the reinforcement, consisting of a party of about sixty men, arrived some three hours before the house was discovered to be on fire. Having made a forced march of several hours, they were considerably fatigued, and slept very soundly. My father, brother and myself had committed the watching to hired laborers, being ourselves exhausted with standing sentries all night for a week previously, and were also asleep. But, as I always awake at the slightest noise, the first crackling of the fire disturbed me, and with my rifle in hand, which always lay by my side in apprehended danger, I sprang to the nearest port-hole. On looking out as far as I was enabled to see, I discovered a great light, and judged instantly that some of the houses must be on fire. The men were immediately posted around the pickets inside the fort, with a strong guard at the gate, and six men were

detached to the lofts of each cabin to keep in check such enemies as might attack the rear of the fort, and ten or twelve prepared to put out the fire. While these arrangements were making, my father awoke, hearing the alarm, and, springing from his bed, rushed with all his force against the door of the building that was on fire, burst the lock, and pitched directly into the flames. At this time I was on the pickets to gain the roof of the burning building, but seeing his imminent danger, I sprang to his rescue and dragged him out of the flames, the clothes of both taking fire, which was, however, put out by some of the company dashing buckets of water over us. Three or four of us then succeeded in getting the roof off and tearing the building down to the second floor. In the meantime the Captain of our reinforcing party had guarded every point of defence in so masterly a manner that the Indians, seeing we were so well prepared for them, did not dare to fire upon us, and drew off their party as quietly and secretly as it had advanced. We soon subdued the fire, but the shock so alarmed my mother and sisters that my father discovered that he must render their lives unhappy if he remained longer a resident on the frontiers. He therefore purchased a tract of land below Lexington, in a tolerably thick-settled part of the country, to which he removed his family. Even here we were not secure, for the Indians came several times and stole horses, and at one time took six of his, when we pursued and overtook them at their encampment on the Big Island on Eagle Creek. We killed several of them and recovered our horses. A considerable snow storm had fallen, and the Indians, judging we could not discover their track, felt perfectly safe. Several other attempts of the kind, about this time, shared the same fate.

But in August, 1788, a party of them came over and tomahawked and scalped some of Colonel Johnson's negroes, at or near the Great Crossings of the Elkhorn, and stole some of Capt. Lyman Buford's horses. I did not get notice of this before 10 o'clock next day, and as our horses were always running at large in the woods when not actually in use, by the time I had hunted them up and returned, it was fully the middle of the day. My brother and I lost no time in saddling two of them and setting out. We heard that a large party of our men had taken the Indian trail early that morning and was in close pursuit of them. We, knowing the

direction the Indians generally took when they had committed depredations on the white settlements in that part of Kentucky, and being well acquainted with the woods between us and the Ohio River, having pursued them often before, and being well mounted on fleet horses, took a course which we did not doubt would intersect their trail before they would reach the Ohio. Indeed, we had strong hopes of striking the trail before any of the pursuing party would be able to overtake them, fearing nothing for ourselves if the party did not amount to more than five or six persons. However, about sundown, or perhaps nearer dark, we struck the trail in sight of some of the men in pursuit. As we came up we asked how far the front of the party was ahead, to which the reply was four or five miles. We passed them, and kept on passing men every few hundred yards, until we caught up with the foremost, several hours after night, when I found Captain Stucker groping out the trail. Dismounting, he and I gave up our horses to some of the men behind us to lead, and we kept the trail on foot. About 3 o'clock in the morning we found that the ground over which the Indians had passed was very hard and gave no traces of the horses' feet. We had hoped that the horses of their own accord would follow the track if left to their own guidance, as they sometimes do; but they, being jaded with a hard ride of more than sixty miles, appeared rather disposed to bite the bushes and browse about, so we concluded to give them some corn we had carried with us for that purpose, and get some rest for ourselves till daylight, when we got up to the trail and started onward. The Indians led us a very circuitous route, so that it was 3 o'clock in the afternoon when we reached the river. At the moment we struck it, on looking up stream we perceived a small barge appearing in sight; and waiting until she reached us, the men on board were at first alarmed and bore off for the Indian shore, but directly seeing we were white men and spoke English, rounded to. The party proved to be Captain Ward and three other men, from Pittsburgh, and, on finding out our business, Ward and one of his men agreed to unite with our party. While the men were getting ready, Captain Stucker and myself were sent across in the boats to take the trail and follow it out from the river for a mile or two and see if the Indians had not camped back of the bottom to rest themselves. We did so, and by the time we got back to the river the volunteers

that had turned out for the chase had all got over, to the number of twenty-seven, leaving their horses with the remainder of the men—about sixty—on the Kentucky shore, to wait for our return.

Colonel Robert Johnson assumed the command of our little party. We had not traveled far before he called a halt, and ordered Captain Stucker to slip out to the left a few paces, detailing eight men to follow him, directing Captain Samuel Grant, with eight more under his command, to do so to the right, remaining himself in the center with eight more, the residue of the party. Addressing himself to the men, "Now, boys," said he, "every man sees his officer, and when we come in view of the enemy Captain Grant will file off to the right, Captain Stucker to the left, and I shall keep the center. Each man will follow his officer and obey his orders. In the meantime we will march single file until we get sight of the Indians. Captain Stucker and Mr. Lytle will keep in advance of the party fifty or sixty yards, and when they discover the enemy, will either halt till we come up, or return to meet and advise us of the situation of things."

We pursued on until some time in the night, when the thick and lofty character of the timber and its dense foliage rendered it so extremely dark that it was impossible to keep the trail, and compelled us to lay down till daybreak. At the first glimpse of dawn we were all up, and reprimed our guns, for fear that our priming had become moistened during the night. We marched on, and had not traveled more than half a mile before we heard bells down in the valley below us, and, advancing nearer, we discovered the horses that had been belled, in front of the rest, and feeding quietly on the bottom pastures. At the same moment we observed an Indian approaching us. Captain Stucker and myself both squatted down; the men about forty yards behind us followed our example. The Indian kept on within a few steps of where we lay hid in the high weeds, and inclined a little to the right, as we supposed, to go to the horses that were at hand feeding; but he went on past them, as we discovered, and kept his course till he had gone out of sight. We then knew that he had gone out to hunt, and we got up and followed his back track until we came in sight of the encampment. After waiting to let the entire party come up, Captain Stucker signed to Captain Grant to file off to the right, while Stucker moved to the left, their men following them, as had

already been arranged. But Johnson, instead of getting his men to follow him in the center, directed Captain Patterson to take the men and lie watching the horses that we had just passed, so as to be ready to fire on the Indians in case they should attempt to escape by means of the horses. This order was given without the knowledge of either Grant or Stucker or any of their party, Johnson being behind us, and giving Patterson his directions in a low voice, and signing to his own men to follow Patterson, while he himself kept on after Grant.

I stepped on in front of Stucker, he and his party following me, until I led them quite around from the south to the west, or rather northwest side of the Indians, so that when Johnson would fire on them from the south, and Grant from the east, the enemy would be driven directly where we lay concealed in ambush to receive them. Where we halted happened to be close on the high bank of a branch. The Indians had ten large camps, besides some tents, the nearest of which was about forty steps from us, and they extended from this point up towards where we expected Grant's and Johnson's parties to give the signal by firing on them. There were two or three squaws cutting wood by the camps, and three or four stout lads that came down with brass kettles, dipping water from the branch directly under us and carrying it to the camps. At this moment Captain Grant fired on them from the right. The women and children and about forty warriors broke from their camps, running toward us. We sprang across the creek, from the high bank that we had squatted down upon, and, rushing up to them, the first warrior I met was a remarkably large Indian, at whose breast I presented my gun, which, to my great mortification, missed fire. Whether it was Stucker that was behind me I dared not look back to see, but the next man in my rear, whoever he was, shot him down. I instantly made ready at a warrior I observed taking aim at one of Capt. Grant's men, of the name of Hastings, but his gun fired first. When mine cracked I saw the Indian pitch forward on his face, the gun dropping from his hands. I then looked to see the effect of his fire upon Hastings, and saw the poor fellow stagger and fall. At that moment two Indians took hold of the one I had shot down, one under each arm, and dragged him from the field. I was reloading as fast as possible, and asked the man just behind me if his gun was charged, and on his replying it

was, "Then," said I, "shoot down one of those fellows dragging away the dead Indian." He instantly fired and wounded him. They both dropped the dead body, and the unwounded one caught the other by the arm and dragged him off the field.

While thus engaged I had taken a tree a little in advance of our men, but young Mr. Grant and Mr. Garrard coming up at this moment, and finding them considerably exposed to the enemy's fire, I gave them up the tree, and having got the powder and ball down my gun, was just priming, when, turning my head a little to the right, I saw three guns presented at me within less than ten steps. I jumped back at the moment the blaze appeared from the muzzles of the pieces. I felt I was wounded, but still hoped I had been too quick for them and that the wounds were not mortal, although they had all three hit me. However, I had no time to examine the wounds, and my whole thought was to retaliate. The Indians ran about fifteen or twenty steps after they fired at me, and made a short pause. The middle one looked around to see if I had been brought to the ground, but as he turned I heard him give the word of command, and, although it was in Indian, it was an audible and deep-toned voice. As I raised my rifle she appeared to be uncommonly heavy, but it was necessary to be in a hurry, as the Indians are very quick in their motions, especially in action. He stood quarterly, with his naked left breast exposed. I aimed for his nipple, as I knew a shot in that direction would pass out under his right shoulder. The fellow dropped at the report of the rifle. Captain Stucker was a few paces from me, on my left, at the time, and observed, if I aimed at that fellow's left nipple, I must have made a center shot. Stucker then asked me if I was badly wounded. I told him I believed not, but had not time to examine. He then asked me if we had not better force through them and unite with Johnson and Grant. I replied that we were better where we were; that now we had the enemy between our fires, and when they treed to fight one they exposed themselves to the fire of the other, and that from the number of dead and wounded they were running off the field, would shortly retreat. "But they fight hard, sir, and appear greatly over our numbers. There is another reason why we should retain our present position, if possible; if we force them from this, you force them back upon their dead and wounded. Now, sir, if you will spare me a few of these men, I

will try and cut my way through that guard and destroy their wounded, and I will assure you the day is our own if I succeed in this attempt." Captain Stucker told me to try it. I then ordered three men to follow me. This was a small force to attack the life guard of the wounded Indians, which I knew must be twenty strong at least; but as I discovered the guard was placed about thirty steps in the rear of the wounded, my object was to get around and destroy the wounded before the guard would discover us, and then to fall on the back of the guard whilst they were engaged fighting Stucker.

Just as I was passing the guard I came upon a wounded Indian who had his thigh broken and had hid himself in the weeds and grass, and, keeping my eye on one side of the enemy, I did not discover him on the other until I saw the smoke rise in my face, and, dropping, found my breast within six inches of the muzzle of his gun, which had been flashed at me but failed to discharge. We despatched him, but by this time the guard discovered us and gave us a heavy fire, they being in a much greater force than I expected. I then directed my little band to follow me, and passed directly in front of the guard, whilst we received the fire of each warrior as we passed him. This, however, did no other execution than to mow down the grass and weeds through which we ran. We finally found ourselves in the rear of the division that was fighting Stucker, who did not discover us, as they lay ambuscaded behind logs and trees, until we got so near as to powder-burn each other. Stucker at this moment discovered our situation and came to our relief, when the Indians left us in possession of the field.

About this time Captain Grant had fallen, and Colonel Johnson ordered the men composing Grant's command down to join Stucker, leaving the Indians in possession of the ground they occupied, on and near the top of a very high hill. With this addition to our force we pursued our retreating party of the enemy a few hundred yards, but to no purpose. We then returned to the Indian encampment, where the men, or at least numbers of them, turned in and plundered the camps, there being upwards of twenty thousand dollars' worth of goods there which the Indians had taken out of boats attacked a short time before in the Ohio River. I had just seized a chunk to set the goods on fire, when Captain Patterson, with the eight men Colonel Johnson had committed to his charge,

came up, and for the first time, and to my great astonishment, I found out that they had not been in the action at all.

At this moment one of Grant's men told me he expected that the Indians with whom they had been engaged and had left in possession of the ground at the top of the hill would shortly fire down upon us. "Why," said I, "is it possible you left the Indians that you were fighting in possession of the field?" "Yes," said he, "Johnson ordered us down to join Stucker as soon as Grant fell." I looked up and could see the high weeds shaking in forty places, and saw that the Indians were extending their line as fast as reinforcements came in, and that they were preparing to give us battle once more.

Just as I was observing these movements young Grant came up and asked me if I was able to go with him up the hill and bring down his brother. "My dear sir," said I, "your brother is dead, and Johnson has left the Indians they were fighting in possession of the field, and they are now preparing for another attack, and will fire on us in less than ten minutes. You must not think of throwing away your life for revenge only." He replied he could never go home without seeing his brother once more. "Well, sir," I observed, "if you insist on it I will go with you, but we shall never come back if we go." He still insisted on it, and we set out on foot. As we were passing the camps at the foot of the hill, seeing Colonel Johnson on horse, I went directly up to him and told him of the mad determination of Moses Grant, and begged him to form the men and prepare for action, and let us march up and rout those Indians he had left in possession of the field of battle. I represented to him that the men were all in confusion, and plundering the camps; that we should be fired on in less than five minutes, and if they were attacked in the present position of things they must all be cut to pieces. Johnson appeared bewildered, or rather unmanned, and I could get no reply from him. At this moment Captain Sterrett came riding up to me on an Indian pony, with a tug halter on it, and leading another. He jumped off his horse, took hold of me as I was ascending the hill with Grant, and made me get on the little horse. Turning his head down hill, "There," said he, "ride down to the camp, and some of the men who are plundering will tie up your wounds, or you will bleed to death." I found myself by this time getting

very faint, and so I reined my horse alongside of a beech tree, which I leaned my head against to steady myself from falling off. My face was turned towards the hill, where I saw Grant, with Sterrett and Gregory, his two companions, ride up to the very weeds I had seen shaken by the Indians not three minutes before, when a tremendous fire opened upon them, and all three of the men fell down before my eyes, appearing, as they went down, to be completely enveloped in smoke. A portion of the Indians fired down at us at the same time, and one of the balls lodged in the beech tree against which I was leaning, and forced off a piece of the bark, which struck me a severe skite on the cheek and brought me to, from my fainting fit.

Johnson then ordered a retreat. By this time most of the men had caught Indian horses, and, having mounted, they broke and away they went in considerable disorder. I followed, as a matter of course, but at some distance in the rear, and frequently looked back to see if I could discover any one of the three poor fellows trying to escape, when at length I got a glimpse of Captain Sterrett. I hallooded to Captain Stucker, who was about—

At this point the personal narrative breaks off. The story is completed by the following taken from the *Western General Advertiser*, published in Cincinnati by Charles Cist, in the number of April 14, 1844.

“Overpowered by numbers, the whole detachment of Kentuckians who survived this hard fought contest, made their way, not without fresh loss, to the river. Feats of bravery & desperation were exhibited in this battle, known since by the name of Grant’s defeat, from the death of the two officers of that name, who were engaged in it, which can hardly be matched even in our early border warfare.

“The Indians numbered nearly four to one. In the struggle, Lytle, then hardly seventeen years of age, had both his arms broken, his face powder-burnt, his hair singed to the roots, and nineteen bullets passed through his body and clothing. In this condition, a retreat being ordered, he succeeded in bringing off the field several of his friends, generously aiding the wounded and exhausted by placing them on horses, while he himself ran forward in advance of the last remnant of the retreating party, to stop the only boat on the Ohio at that time, which could take them over and save them from the overwhelming force of their savage adversaries.

“On reaching the river, he found the boat in the act of putting off for the Kentucky shore. The men were reluctant to obey his demand for a delay until those still in the rear should come up—one of them declaring that ‘it was better a few perish, than that all should be sacri-

ficed.' He threw the rifle which he still carried on his shoulder, over the root of a fallen tree, and swore he would shoot the first man who pulled an oar, until his friends were aboard. In this way, the boat was detained until they came up, and were safely lodged from the pursuing foe. Disdaining to take advantage personally of this result, the boat being crowded almost to dipping, he ran up the river to where some horses stood panting under the willows after their escape from the battle field, and mounting one of the strongest, forced him into the river, holding on to the mane by his teeth, until he was taken, in the middle of the stream, into the boat, bleeding and almost fainting from his wounds, by the order of his gallant captain, the lamented *Stucker*, who had observed his conduct with admiration throughout, and was resolved that such a spirit should not perish; for by this time the balls of the enemy were rattling like hail about their ears.

"The father of Col. R. M. Johnson commanded this expedition, in which were embarked the boldest spirits of that part of Kentucky; and the scene of this sanguinary struggle was on Eagle Creek, a few miles in the rear of the river at that point where Vevay is now built."



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LETTERS OF HIRAM POWERS TO NICHOLAS
LONGWORTH, ESQ., 1856-1858.

Sept. 17, 1856.

N. Longworth, Esqr.:

My Dear Friend—Your letter containing one from Hon: Mr. Pugh reached me in due time and I meant to have answered it sooner but have failed from various causes 'till now.

The statements of the President to Mr. Pugh are far from truthful, if I except the one that I had offered my statue at private sale. The case was this:—

I had waited for years, as you know, for an order from Congress (my statue had already been on hand, tho unfinished for several years) when the order for Mr. Mills' statue of Washington passed both houses of Congress in one day and *unanimously*. An amendment to the bill proposing to purchase my "America" was rejected in terms so discouraging, in short, on the ground that it might, "encumber the bill", that on hearing of it I instantly gave up all hope of ever receiving a Government order, and as I had been asked to set a price upon the statue, I determined to do so, and to sell it for the most I could get. I put the price, as I supposed, within the reach of a private individual, (Mr. — of New York) but received no answer to my letter, and I thought no more about it. Indeed, I do not know that my letter was ever received. But Mr. — made me an offer for the statue, a year or two later, which I refused, for this was subsequent to the passage of the order by Congress. How the President heard of this I am not quite sure, but have good reasons for believing that an artist here, for whom in former times I have done almost as much as I would do for a brother, and who knew of the fact, informed the Editor of the Richmond *Enquirer* of it with a view to its reaching the President, and thus injuring me. The Editor of that paper declared to a gentleman now here, that he got it all from a person in Florence who knew me well and who charged me also, with being a rank abolitionist, and so, all has been published in the Richmond *Enquirer*.

Now, I never intended this present statue for the Government, but meant, if I should ever receive an order, to repeat it on a colossal scale, and such I got Mr. Everett to offer to the President, or the present one, just as might suit the views of the President. I thought the wording of the amendment would justify the President in receiving the present statue, nevertheless, I offered a larger one. Mr. Pugh says nothing of this in his letter, and it would appear that the President did not name it to him. A photograph of the statue was sent to the President nearly or quite a year ago, and yet, according to Mr. Pugh's letter, the President wanted to see one! Here are two important omissions of facts, as samples of the fairness of the President's statements as given by Mr. Pugh, and deeming them sufficient to show the character of the whole, I shall not fill up the sheet with further corrections. I have however, taken the liberty of sending a copy of Mr. Pugh's letter to Mr. Everett with comments upon every part of it—all going to show how unfairly to say the least of it—I have been treated.

I have not asked for a commission from the Government, nor have I ever asked a member of Congress or any one else to say or do anything for me in this way. What has been done has been voluntarily, and most grateful I am for it all, but I am not likely to receive the benefit of it, for the conditions proposed by the President are such that I cannot consent to them. He expects me to send my finished marble statue to Washington City and set it up there to be examined by a committee of his appointment, as to its "fitness" and the "price." This I am expected to do at my own risk and expense! I have declined acceding to this proposal and prefer to wait in the hope that his successor will deal with me in a less humiliating manner. There will yet be about 3 months time left for an arrangement after President Pierce retires from the Government, and before the appropriation must necessarily pass to the surplus fund. I may lose the commission, and I have prepared as well as I can for such a misfortune. It would prevent our coming home for some years yet, and that grieves me more than any other consideration. Surely it was not for the President to listen to stories about my having offered to sell my work for less than Congress was long after willing to give me for it, and especially after I had offered to repeat it on a colossal scale. Con-

gress gave the order; he had nothing to do but to execute the duty assigned him, and if my disappointments and necessities compelled me to offer my statue for less, surely the Government should not take advantage of them. No other artist has been so treated by a President; and I can perceive nothing but the most decided hostility in every thing he has done. His neglect to answer Mr. Everett's letters, evasions, misinterpretations, all tending to prolong the time, with a view, as I firmly believe, to finally thwarting the intentions of Congress, and especially of my friends there, have so mortified and disgusted me, that I would almost rather lose the entire appropriation than now receive the slightest favour at his hands, and it is evident that Mr. Pugh agrees with him, for he argues quite upon his side. The Amendment says—"for a work done or to be done" (if I rightly remember it) and not for works done and to be done. Is it not clear that a statue *already in hand* was meant, or another of larger dimensions? The *movers* of the measure so understood it and framed the amendment so as to cover my statue of "America", but I will not attempt to argue my own case. I can only feel how hard it is, after waiting so long and at length feeling so sure, and joyous and grateful too, to have all fall to the ground, upon the pretense, that I have offered my work to an individual for less than the amount of the appropriation. I trust however that there are other resources within reach far more reliable than the Government, and that it will not be *very* long before I can see you again, not much the worse for this disappointment. Mr. Pugh intimates that it would not have been courteous for the President to write to me over Mr. Everett's head, after I had confided the case to him (Mr. E.). Why, the President promised *Mr. Everett* that he *would* write to me and allow Mr. E. to see the letter before sending it! which however, he never did. This was what Mr. E. wanted him to do, or in *some way* to commit himself to *some* course in writing. He *told* Mr. E. that he thought the wording of the amendment would justify his receiving "America", but has never done this in writing. In short, he has never meant to make the commission good to me. Mr. Pugh ought not to have taken "for granted" all the President told him, and he would not have done so had he entertained the slightest sympathy for his absent countryman, knowing as he must how little dependence can be

placed upon the word of the present Chief Magistrate of the United States, who promised your friend, Mrs. McLean also, that he would immediately write to me, but never did it. Indeed what promise has he ever kept?

My case is a small affair compared to that which affects our whole country and now causes the greatest anxiety throughout the land. Senator Douglas and President Pierce found the country in the enjoyment of peace and the greatest prosperity. Never was there so fine an opportunity for a glorious administration—uncommitted and free as no other President ever was. Genl Pierce had only to adopt the simple maxim, “honesty is the best policy” and with moderate ability we might have gone on a peaceful and thriving nation and, he would have stood in history among the most honorable of our Presidents, but ambitious to serve again and unscrupulous he has betrayed his post, betrayed all parties, lost the confidence of all, and on the 4th of March next, will walk down the door steps of the White house, not as honest old John Quincy Adams did,—a faithful though sometimes erring public servant, but still to serve again to the end of his life in the national councils. No! Genl Pierce will walk down a recreant traitor to his country and his friends. He will sink below the level of an honest labourer in the field, for though poor in the world’s goods, he still possesses a world’s wealth in a good conscience, but President Pierce will have nothing to console him beyond the means of bodily support. There will be none so poor as to do him reverence. The lowest of the Presidents, he will not be recognised as a worthy citizen, and if he escapes hisses wherever he goes, it will be not from any personal respect, but because there is a dignity in the name of President which chastens indignation, and shelters the man under the mantle of the office. The wrong he has done me is as a drop of lost venom, shed from reeking fangs fixed in the breast of my dear country which now struggles in perhaps a mortal agony. I have no idea that our difficulties will end without a revolution, for excitement has become too great to go back without blows.

It seems hardly possible that two miserable Demagogues have thus paralyzed a great country and arrayed its citizens against one another, but we know that a small viper can kill a giant and crawl to his hole unharmed, and almost if not quite unconscious of the evil he has done.

When will our people learn wisdom and appoint proper Governors? It is said that there is no people which does not *deserve* its rulers, and the saying will certainly apply with truth to us, if we ever appoint another General Pierce. It is consoling to see, by the papers, that our people are waking up from the deadly apathy into which they had fallen, and it may not be too late to act. If successful, let them fumigate the Capitol with sulphur, and on the 4th of March kindle bonfires and fire guns all over the land to mark the day of redemption from the vilest corruption that ever disgraced any country.

I have watched the progress of political events in our country during the last 3 or 4 years with the deepest interest, and as they have followed one another my astonishment has increased, that such things *could* take place *in the United States* without instant chastisement by the people, who on the contrary appear to have looked on, until very lately with almost indifference! Europe looks on with smiles and tears. The Despots grin, and the Liberals weep! and we Americans hang our heads in shame! Is there then no human virtue? no self government? Has God abandoned His people, or have they forever turned from Him? They say here, that the fairest opportunity for self government is under trial in America and if it fails it will prove that the *principle is wrong* and that another attempt should not be made. Stephen Arnold Douglas and Franklin Pierce! do you know how much you have to answer for?

Woe be to our Country generally for a time but particularly to the South, if civil war begins in earnest. There will be—there can be—no peace while a slave exists in America. That frontier line, some thousands of miles in extent, between the slave power and the free power will be a line of fire until one or the other side succumbs. Then there will be no fugitive slave laws, and owners will follow their slaves “over the border” to be met by equally determined freemen—a standing army on one side and a standing army on the other with ample causes of disagreement between.

Our Republican Institutions have grown up with a foreign substance in their body—and like the soldier who carried a bullet in his body, the pain is perpetual. Nature strives to throw out the deadly evil, but it lies too deep to be removed without the knife of the surgeon. It is death to hold it, and it may be death to re-

move it, but one or the other is a necessity, and we have come to this crisis, hurried on by the wanton *probes* of Messrs. Douglas, Pierce and their followers. We must now contemplate that abyss which Mr. Webster turned from with horror—look into it and prepare to leap! The bottom may be deep, and we may be long in reaching it, but rely upon it, we who reach it shall find no *negro slaves* there, whatever ourselves may be.

The present state of our affairs reminds me of a German illustration of political squabbles. The first print shows two individuals, one with a newspaper in his hand and most earnestly calling the other's attention to some article in it. The other smiles good naturedly, and appears disposed to appease the excitement of the other. The next print shows the good natured man in an attitude of argument; he is earnestly reasoning with the other and appears somewhat excited himself. The third print shows the two in an attitude of mutual defiance, and the last shows them both on the ground in a mortal struggle. How far are we from the unsightly posture of these imaginary champions?

A Friend of mine, The Marquiss Ponciattica (you will never pronounce his name) wants to know if you could send him some of your dry Catawba in the barrel, and what it would cost pr. bottle sent in that way. He is a good judge of wine, and says that *there is nothing better than yours*. I sent him a bottle and he speaks of it with enthusiasm. If you tell me what it would cost delivered for shipment in N. York I can estimate the rest. We got the wine you sent me so kindly, very cheaply through the Custom House here. Your namesake told them that it was "some *domestic* wine of America", and they allowed it to pass without examination; a few "crazie" was all he paid, but had they *tasted* it, these crazie would have been *francesconi*! With most affectionate regards from us all,

I am ever your sincere friend,

H. POWERS.

Florence, September 17th, 1856.

N. Longworth, Esqr.:

My Dear Old Friend—Not long ago I received a bill of lading for some more of your wine, but the wine itself has not arrived yet. It will tho in due time, I dare say, and long before the old is out, for we use it only on important occasions, such as, the 4th of July, Washington's birth day, and the natal days of our whole family and ourselves! *Important* occasions are not wanting therefore, but the most important we deem your own birth day mentioned in one of your letters to me. On that day we bring a *pair* of the dry and the sparkling out of the cellar. Every member of the family, even the youngest, have a glass, large or small, to join with, in a toast to the man who is doing more for the cause of Temperance in America than all the Father Mathews in the world. He is supplying a substitute for Alcohol and a remedy for drunkenness. There is no drunkenness anywhere *where good wine is made in abundance*.

Tell this to temperance people who slander the beverage converted from water to wine by our Saviour Himself. Be assured that we fully appreciate your great kindness in sending a new supply of wine, whether from associations or its own intrinsic quality, certainly the best I have ever tasted and the most prized. But what shall I say to the Marquiss Ponciattica (pronounced Ponshattica)? He wants to know, if you could send him a barrel of the *dry* Catawba, and what it would cost. Do not be at any trouble about this but if you could let him know, I dare say he would desire to have it sent out.

My affair with the Government remains in *statu quo*, nothing has been done by Genl Pierce, except to propose that I should send my statue of "America" to Washington to be examined by a committee appointed by him on the questions of "fitness and the price". Of course the risk and the expense of sending it would be my own, and so would be the folly if I were to do it. I have long since written to Mr. Everett to say, that I will do no such thing, for Congress has settled both these questions already by the wording of the appropriation, "\$25,000 for some work executed or to be executed" clearly alluding to my statue of "America", for I have no other work "executed" and the words or "to be executed" refer to the same statue repeated on a colossal scale should the President deem the latter necessary. The President has admitted

to Mr. Everett, that according to the wording of the amendment (to the civil and diplomatic list), he would be justified in receiving my statue of "America" and paying the sum named for it. But if I remember I have told you as much before.

Of course, I can do nothing, and the time is drawing short, at which the sum appropriated by Congress will pass to the surplus fund, in default of not being drawn out within the term of the limitation act. I expect to lose it all, and have made up my mind to it. And if this should prove the case, why then I shall be just where I was before, excepting that, counting upon it, I have so arranged my little means as to suffer some inconvenience. I must stay here instead of going home with my family, until the good time comes at which I can afford to go home.

We have fallen into the same system in Washington which now prevails generally with the Governments in Europe, viz.,—by paying to all artists alike, and judging by a letter I have lately seen from Capt. Meigs (Commissioner of New Capitol Buildings) about \$6,000 *a piece* for statues is what the Govt expects to pay in future. The consequence will be that artists of any merit will do *slop work* for the government, if they work at all, and take pains for Individuals who pay better—just as they do here.

Apply this rule of paying all alike to other professions, the Law for example.

The fact is, there is now *competition* for commissions at Washington, and works of art can be had at cheap rates, 12 for sixpence and 13 to make up the baker's dozen. These things are very discouraging, and they have induced me to reflect seriously upon my position. My art is profitable, but the expenses of so large a family are great, and consequently my progress in a pecuniary respect is slow. Home we must go ere long for several of my children are grown up and ought not to remain here. I have determined to divide my time for a season between Mechanics and Sculpture in order to make better progress. I have two inventions one of which is already patented and the other soon will be. Both of them I think will be profitable, since they are of a nature to supply a general want. I shall devote as little time as possible to these things and if they succeed well,—if not the loss will not be great.

One of the main objects in it is occupation for Longworth,

whose time is too valuable to be wasted here doing the little I have for him to do, which by the way, he attends to faithfully.

With the \$25,000 voted by Congress my circumstances would have been at this time such as would have allowed us all to return home and remain there, but without it I am—as I am. I am waiting now to see what Mr. Buchanan will do. There will be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ months left after the 4th of March before the money must go to the surplus fund if it is not drawn out of the Treasury. But as I have already said above, I have hardly a hope left in regard to it, for I know that influences will be brought to bear most unfavourably upon Mr. Buchanan. There are people who will do their best to prevent an adjustment of the case. Little did I think two years ago when I heard of the commission that it was to end so, or that there would ever be any difficulty about it. No other artist, native or foreign, has been treated by the Government as I have been. Perhaps the reason is, we have never before had a Genl Pierce for President.

But enough of croaking, “All is well that ends well,” and I hope to make a good ending yet.

We have a family of young ones which for general health and appearance do credit at least to the land of their birth, Italy. Longworth is the only one born in America. He has become schoolmaster to the youngest, gives and hears their lessons daily, and a capital schoolmaster he is too. They get on bravely. He sports “the beautiful watch” on *grand occasions*, and keeps it in perfect order—not a scratch or mark upon it. He stays at home and has no wish to join the Caffè boys, but on a late occasion (a mask public ball), at the principal Theater he went in the costume of a—*Monkey*, all but the tail, and acted his part so well as to draw attention from the Grand Duke and Duchess. Since then there have been several imitators at the mask balls but nothing to equal The American Baboon! It was his first and last appearance, having won fame enough to satisfy his ambition in that department of art.

My statue of Webster for Boston (8 feet high) is now at the bronze Foundry here, and will be cast in a week or two, the last arrangements in the process have been made, and the mould is drying by artificial heat, to receive the metal. It is a slow and difficult process. First, the model has to be moulded in many

pieces, like the staves of a cask, and when done, the void is filled up with a composition of lime and other substances (I do not know what the exact compost is). Then the mould is removed, piece by piece until all is bared. The statue now appears in another material, which is of a deep brown colour. This is dried, within a thin brick encasement built around it, so as to allow the heat of a charcoal fire to ascend within it and about the statue. When quite dry, the casement is removed, and beginning at the head, the artist removes (carves away) the surface of the entire figure to the depth of about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, and when this is done, the mould is replaced upon it, *but touches it no where*, it being that a space of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch intervenes for the bronze to occupy *finally*, but the bronze cannot yet be introduced, for the outer mould is, as yet, of plaster of Paris, which contains water, and if bronze were poured into it, an explosion would instantly follow. But melted bees wax may be poured in, and this is done, and it fills the space allotted for the bronze, and when cool the mould is removed and we now see the statue in its third state and substance; first it was in plaster of Paris, next in the composition above mentioned, and now it appears like a solid mass of wax.

Careful attention is now paid to the surface. The tracery of the mould jointings is all removed and retouching is given where it is needed, for as the wax is, so the bronze will be. And when all is done, *the same composition*, which now occupies the interior, is applied without, over the whole figure, and thickly,—a large mass in short, for this is the final mould for the bronze. This is again enclosed in a brick covering, and dried by a charcoal fire, and when dry the heat is increased so as, first to melt the wax and cause it to flow out at openings below, and then to burn up the small portion of wax that may remain in the pores of the mould.

But this last operation is performed in a pit, near the furnace, and when over, the pit is filled with earth, surrounding the mould, and the metal is let in at an opening above, as is usual with other castings. When the cast is made, the core, or inner mould, is removed by means of rammers, inserted at the orifices under the feet, and water is sometimes used to wash the interior clean.

You will perceive from all this, that bronze casting is not a very simple process, when *well done*, but it is simple enough when done as Mr. Clark Mills does it. His statue (equestrian) of Genl

Jackson was cast in 14 *pieces*, as I have been told. A common brass founder could do this, for *patch work* can be done anywhere.

The house fly is found in every part of the world, and it has been said that this is the only universal insect. Fleas are pretty general, and I am yet to hear of a country where *companions* may not be found to soothe our slumbers at night by their tasteful and touching attentions. But the truly universal insect is the Hum Bug!

The industrious and honest bee is restricted within certain latitudes. He can stand heat, but the extreme of cold kills him, and the mosquito, and still more bewitching gnat both yield to the reign of Winter, even to the limit of his sceptre in Florida. But Humbug knows no heat and no cold. The droning of his wings mixes as readily in the chorus of the Iceland blast, as in the spicy zephyrs of Arabia. This is the true universal insect, and what is more, he carries a bottle of chloroform under his wing, with which to stupify his victims. Your Gallinipper of Mississippi carries a brick bat under his wing to whet his bill upon, but the true Humbug shows no bill until after the work is done. He knows his victims, the place and the hour, and perhaps Brother Jonathan is his victim, Washington City the place, and the present the hour—for of all the Humbugs of the present day, perhaps our present President is the greatest and of all the *humbugged*, the *Democracy* of our country. Barnum humbugged our people by means of his wits, and humbugged himself at last without them. He is now delivering lectures on Temperance in England! But Franklin Pierce—without wit or effort, humbugged himself and the nation together from the beginning. Perhaps he, too, will now turn lecturer on *Temperance*. It remains to be seen how far Mr. Buchannan will follow in his footsteps. He has promised to do so, and if he does not, why then, he, too is a humbug, and the South will call him one. But I must not humbug you with more than two sheets, and so with our united affectionate regards to you and yours, I am ever your friend,

H. POWERS.

Florence, February 27th, 1857.

Florence, May 7th, 1857.

N. Longworth, Esqr.:

My Dear Friend—Yours ending April 5th has been duly received, and I take the first leisure to answer it.

I have not sold "America", who still lies in her case packed up in my studio awaiting some decision, nor have I had any idea of selling this statue to any body since Congress gave me an order for it.

Mr. Pugh has been deceived or misinformed, not only in this, but in some other matters. A *colossal* statue of "America" after the model of the present one, was offered to President Pierce more than 20 months ago by Mr. Everett at my request, and the offer has several times been repeated and alluded to by Mr. Everett in letters to and conversation with the President, and yet the President has said to others besides Mr. Pugh, that this has never been done. That this has been only a cover to conceal the settled purpose of the President to gain time and thus throw the \$25,000 over to the surplus fund is now perfectly clear, for about 8 days before Mr. Buchanan took his place as President, Capt. Meigs (Engineer of the new Capitol Buildings) told Capt. Page (the officer who commanded the La Platte expedition) that if I would agree to make the statue colossal, he the President, would receive it and pay the amount appropriated.

Capt. Page lost no time in writing to Mr. Everett all this, who immediately wrote to the President an acceptance of the terms, and reminded him that that offer had been made to him more than 18 months previous. Mr. E. also wrote to both Capt. Meigs and Capt. Page upon the subject.

The President took no notice of Mr. Everett's letter, but Capt. Meigs replied to his, saying that he had called on the President who refused to do any thing. That Mr. Everett did make such an offer to the President so long ago, I am perfectly certain, for I have seen copies of his correspondence with President Pierce. The President pretended not to have understood him so, when Mr. Everett again repeated it in the most distinct terms. His refusal to do any thing at the last moment of his power, shows clearly that he never intended I should enjoy the benefit of the commission, and I am sorry to say, that there are strong reasons for believing that Capt. Meigs has supported, if indeed he has not been the instigator of this determination of Genl Pierce. They are as follows—

1st. Mr. Crawford of Rome has long since received a commission for a statue of "America" of colossal size for the top of the new dome of the Capitol.

2d. Capt. Meigs, with the concurrence of the President, has had the power to give this order, subject however, I believe, to an act of Congress to *pay for it*, and the money would be voted under the head of Capitol improvements. These matters usually come before committees, and not openly and separately before the body of Congress, and Congress votes in the gross upon the committees' report. In this manner Mr. Crawford, who has been over in Washington has succeeded in taking the commission for "America" out of my hands, and all,—long since Congress gave it to me. Capt. Meigs knows very well that it would be difficult to get Congress to agree to the purchase of two colossal statues of America for the Capitol.

3d. Mr. Crawford's statue was at first called "Liberty", but more lately it is called "America" to every body who visits his studio. Indeed, the name makes no difference, for both our statues might be called one or the other, it being, that they signify the same thing. Not only have I been supplanted in the commission but even the name of my statue has been taken, and the name,—for a statue originated with me, I believe, for I never heard of it before. Mr. Crawford was here on his last trip home and I told him how I had been treated. He had often, before this seen my "America" in my studio, and he knew all about my Congress commission for it, very soon after the act had passed, and before he had any commission of the kind. He told me that he was going directly to Washington, where he should see the President and Capt. Meigs, and *he offered his services if he could do anything with them for me*. He did not so much as allude to his own commission, which he knew stood directly in the way of his serving me with the President and Capt. Meigs! But on leaving my studio, he left at my neighbor, Mr. Kinney's house a photograph of his own "America", then modelled in small at Rome! How he *had been* serving me with the President and Capt. Meigs I do not know nor can I say how he expected to serve me again when he made me the offer. I have told you however, what I do know, and leave you to form your own conclusions. I saw the photograph at Mr. Kinney's after Mr. Crawford had left Florence

and you may judge of my surprise. I was loath to say and especially to write any thing about all this, until I could learn more of the facts in the case.

Mr. Crawford has (since his return from America) been seized with a dreadful malady in one of his eyes which they say must end fatally—a cancer! But his statue on a colossal scale has already been modelled and cast in plaster preparatory to being sent to Munich to be cast in bronze!

Here then is the secret in a nutshell of all the apathy and prevarications of Capt. Meigs and President Pierce in regard to my Congress commission, and I desire that you will inform Hon'ble Mr. Pugh of it soon as you can.

If my commission has been renewed by the friendly efforts of Hon'ble Mr. Campbell, why then I suppose Capt. Meigs will endeavor if *he must act*, to substitute some new work by me for the "America". But this would be equivalent to the loss of it, for I should have to do my work all over again, and according to *his* estimates, at a price less than I can obtain and do from individuals. From \$4—to 5,000 a statue is enough, according to his views as he expressed in a letter to a lady friend of mine in Washington. Therefore I must insist upon my right by the order of Congress, and if this fails, I must appeal to that body for justice.

My own statue of "America" is as well adapted, if made colossal and in bronze to the position on the lantern of the new dome, as I could possibly make it if it had to be done over again. Indeed I do not know where it could be better placed.

Mr. Crawford's wife has a small fortune, enough, I hear, for the support of her children, and Mr. Crawford's Banker in Rome states that he has over \$80,000 worth of commissions in his studio. So, the plea, that the family need *my* commission cannot be set up with any kind of propriety. I too have a family which numbers twice his, and life is uncertain with us all; duty requires that I should insist upon their rights in this case.

I have forbourn to say more than is really necessary to an understanding of this question. The circumstances of the case are peculiar, and such as to make one hesitate between compassion and duty. It is hard under such aggravations to draw the line of propriety, and I have to write in haste.

That I have been most grievously wronged by somebody every

one must admit. Congress has given me a commission which the President has kept me out of for more than two years, while the same commission has been given to another, and is even now nearly executed. The President has attempted to defeat the design of Congress and throw the appropriation over to the surplus fund and I am not yet quite sure that he has not succeeded. If I have spoken too strongly about all this I shall be sorry.

The Marquiss Ponciattica wants 50 bottles or, I suppose 4 dozen would do, of the dry Catawba such as you have sent to me, and at the price you have stated, and if you can gratify him please have it sent by a vessel *direct to Leghorn* and not to Genoa or Marseilles, for the commissions are high. He wants to know what it will cost after reception here, in the most direct manner it can be got here, and this he can only know by experiment.

We are all quite well and all unite in affectionate regards to you and yours.

Ever gratefully your friend,

H. POWERS.

P. S.—The Marquiss will pay me here for the wine and I will direct Mr ——— of N. York to pay your agent. This shall be done when I get notice of the shipment. Please have the cases directed *to me*, and not to him.

Florence, June 24th, 1857.

N. Longworth, Esqr.:

My Dear Friend—I have received the letters, one from Genl Cass, and Judge McLean's reply—a copy of it—and am greatly indebted to the Judge for what he has said. I doubt that Genl Cass will do anything more, unless to oppose us. But I shall wait a while to see what may come.

The view Genl Cass takes is surprising when we consider that he has travelled abroad, and had opportunity for culture in taste for the fine arts. Why, he goes against the whole enlightened world, "and the rest of mankind". I will repeat here what he says, for you may not have retained a copy—"Mr. Pierce says in his letter that like myself he has no great relish for allegorical figures, and if I had the execution of the laws, that objection would be a fatal one with me. I would make a contract with Mr. Powers

for a statue or group fitted for the place. Mr. Pierce suggests that Capt. Meigs would be a proper person to consult as to the character of the work. I think he would, for he is a man of taste, and he is charged with the superintendence of the construction of the buildings." Capt. Meigs has been consulted it appears, but not by me, and he has already ordered a most colossal "allegorical figure" of America to be placed on the "house top" of the Capitol, there to proclaim against Genl Cass' judgment, both as to the subject "suited for the Capitol" and his selection of the man likely to ravour his views. I suppose that when Genl Cass finds this out, he will deem Capt. Meigs almost as untasteful and stupid in matter of art, as was Phidias, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, Leonardo da Vinci, Thorwaldsen and others, who all, showed some partiality for "allegorical figures". But would Genl Cass strike our flag? It is an emblematical,—figurative—or allegorical flag. Would he blot out the eagle? tear off the stripes, and extinguish the stars? and after demolishing the United States arms, there is hardly a state in the Union which would not require his attention. "Virginia" has an allegorical figure trampling on chains, would he trample on the arms of Virginia? I suppose too, that in Genl Cass' opinion it is improper to write allegories. He would have every body express his views in direct terms, matter of fact language, and if so, what would he do with the Bible? The great Beast which rose out of the sea would soon lose his heads and horns if Genl Cass had the handling of him. If Genl Cass had lived in authority in the days of the Exodus, what havoc he would have made among the cherubims. There would have been shown no mercy to them, even upon the "Mercy Seat" he might have joined *the people* however in worshipping the golden *Calf*.

Our Saviour spoke in figurative language, but we are more enlightened now. Aesop wrote a lot of allegories (fables) but they are obsolete. It was a round about way of expressing a thing. Genl Cass considers himself a thorough Democrat, and he is so sure of it, that he is determined to force the conviction upon every body. If he had the execution of the law, (of Congress, mind) "that objection" (of his individual own) would be fatal to my claim. This kind of democracy is like a sentiment which would prevail among a band of Irish labourers *led on* by a locomotive at full speed *behind them*. But if Genl Cass' letter is

somewhat presumptuous what shall we say of Capt. Meigs' letter, an extract of which I have already sent to you? He understands my case, and tells me what to do, and Genl Cass endorses his advice. How simple it was in me not to take it. Then, the late President would have had an occasion for "consulting with those who have knowledge in such matters" and Capt. Meigs is one of 'em—Caleb Cushing is another, and Mr. Jefferson Davis is a third, and Genl Cass' letter shows that Mr. Pierce, Chairman of the Library Committee for the Senate, might have been a fourth. Messrs. Everett and ——— were named by the late President also, but they would have been in a minority. Capt. Meigs was not named, but as he has "knowledge in such matters" (according to Genl Cass) doubtless he would have been consulted.

I am glad to perceive that the case is fully understood by Judge McLean and Mr. Everett, and I have taken some pains to have it understood by others. I now subjoin a letter received a few days since from a true friend in Rome:

"Dear Powers—In compliance with your request I have made the inquiries which you mentioned in your letter, and I herewith send you such information as I can gather.

"I find that Mr. Crawford received a commission from Government, about a year and a half ago for a colossal statue of 'America' to be placed on the lantern of the Capitol and that it is now being finished in plaster, preparatory to being sent to Munich to be cast in bronze. The commission could not have been given much longer ago than the time I mention, in as much as two years ago this last May Capt. Meigs consulted with our friend Mr. Rogers in regard to the statue to be placed on the lantern of the Capitol, discussing what kind of a figure it should be, etc., etc. This is about all I can ascertain in regard to the matter here, and I don't know that you will find my information of any service, as I have but small means of arriving at facts. Sincerely hoping that this matter, when seen in its proper light, will relieve all parties from the suspicion of unfair dealing, I remain", etc., etc.

I beg that you will put this information into the hands of Judge McLean and Mr. Pugh. It is hardly necessary to make comments upon it. The true objection to my statue of "America" is that another has been ordered by the late President and Capt. Meigs, and Congress will hardly *pay* for *two*, and the question is,

shall it be so? I believe that no one doubts that my statue as it is, or colossal, was intended by the act of Congress, and shall Capt. Meigs be allowed to divert this intention to another, and thus throw a work (upon which I have spent years) back upon my hands? A substitute may be offered, but this would force me to begin anew, and do all my work over again. I believe that Capt. Meigs is at the bottom of the whole difficulty. His letter shows it and if I am to be turned over to him as Genl Cass suggests, why then there is no hope, except from arms which are not strong, and that Providence which has thus far sustained them. I might indeed write to Mr. Buchanan, as you have suggested, but what good would that do, with Genl Cass and Capt. Meigs at his elbows? I have no hope except a forlorn one from Congress itself, and perhaps the sooner an appeal to the people and that body is publicly made the better, for after the statue intended to supplant mine shall have been *paid for*, it is hardly possible that any thing could be done.

I have written this in a hurry for today's mail, in order to avail of the first English steamer. I beg you to thank Mr. McLean a thousand times for his manly letter to Genl Cass. It did me good to read it, and with our united affectionate regards I remain forever yours,
H. POWERS.

You will perceive by my friend's letter that the statue in Rome "is *being finished* preparatory to sending to Munich", etc. Mr. Crawford made a small sketch for this statue before he went home, a photograph of which I have seen, but as he returned to Rome with that terrible disease (a cancer in one of his eyes) already upon him, and as he has been for some months absent in Paris and London for medical treatment, we must suppose that the large model has been done mainly by workmen in Mr. C.'s employ. Is there any one who will blame me, in the circumstances, for stating these facts?
H. P.

Florence, Jan. 14th, 1858.

N. Longworth, Esqr.:

My Dear Friend—I have had no letter from you this long while, but trust that all is well and that your interests have not been materially affected by the "Crisis" which has deranged the

monetary affairs of all Christendom. We have not felt it here however, to any extent, although travellers have suffered more or less, some have had to turn back for want of funds. Their connecting credit chains having given way in England or France some of those who left home millionaires, as they thought, have gone back only *centinarians*; others who stay, have had to cut down their establishments, dismiss *liveried* servants, and sing small upon half allowances. I pity such of my countrymen as have not attempted a grand show, by apeing the pomp and fashions of Europe, but have no compassion for the Mr. Mc's and G.'s, who after making fortunes at home, by boiling soap and dipping candles, come out here and sport carriages with coats of arms blazoned upon them, and trick out servants with liveries! One of these has added a De'. to his name, and the device on his card and carriage is a calve's head, a bull's head, and a winged horse! The swell he cut for a time was pretty considerable, but the news came at last of the smash at home and the suspension of his soap and candle establishment. Trying times, these for scrapple and marrowbones. The liveried servants were soon dismissed with the crested carriage, and now when one meets him out, he looks like an American citizen. I do not know if he still plays off the calve's head, the bull's head and the flying horse upon his visiting cards.

We have another specimen of this sort, who prides himself on a better turn out than the *Grand Duke's*. He has been seen indeed, dashing through the streets with *eight* pair of horses to his carriage, but this was a little too much to be bourne, and the police interfered.

Among our representatives abroad, there is another sort, who do all they can to make us ridiculous. These are wouldbe military men. The C——s and W———s, corn-stalk Generals. These get themselves invited to reviews when they can, and appear in magnificent uniforms and on high mettled chargers, galloping and prancing over the field, the wonder and terror of the natives. I have the card of one of them. It reads thus, "General W———, Commander of the forces of New York, U. S. A." Now U. S. A. may mean two things, United States of America, or United States *Army*, but these cards, like white gloves, serve for only once, they are soon found out, for there is always some one

in every place of note wicked enough to expose the imposture. This *General* gave a grand diplomatic dinner here, after such a discovery, and invited all the foreign and native ministers. His table was loaded with a profusion of good things, but a train of most unfortunate coincidences prevented these dignitaries from attending. The British Minister had a violent attack of the gout, the Spanish Minister had a severe cold, the Russian Minister had just received an important dispatch and the native Ministers had been called in Council with the Grand Duke. Even the Pope's Nuncio, who came, could not stay for coffee, but looked gravely at his watch and evidently smelt a rat. The General took the hint, and was soon off for other diggins.

These are samples of American snobs abroad, but we have another class of American Travellers who do honour to their country by their unpretending gentlemanly manners, and it is a great pleasure to meet with them out here.

The news from home is just now very exciting. It is now proved past a doubt that there has been and still is great wrong in Kansas. The great majority of the people have been and are oppressed by the present and the last *democratic* administration, and attempt has been made to force upon them a slavery constitution, and the most tyrannical means *have been employed* for this purpose. Every Governor of Kansas has declared it, and now even Senator Douglas, the author originally of all the trouble, boldly proclaims it. The entire South upholds the administration in this wrong! Is it not high time for all good men to rally, and do what they can to oppose such tyranny?—such usurpation of the rights of the people? I think they will now, and that we shall soon see the wrong doers in *a fix*, at least I hope so. The South have pushed this matter to an unbearable point, and the fate of Kansas, if I mistake not, will decide the fate of slavery. I am not an abolitionist, but go tooth and nail against slavery extension. We have had enough of it. It has been the cause of nearly all our troubles as a people, and it is time that it was bound down to its present limits.

I have no longer any expectations from the Government in regard to the Congress appropriation. Mr. Everett writes me that nothing has been done, and nothing will be unless I go home and see the authorities about it. This I would do if it was only to

transact business with the President himself. But I have reason to believe that he would refer me to Capt. Meigs, who would expect me to work for the same price paid to other artists, and I can do better than that without going to Washington.

I have received no answer to the letter I wrote long ago to the Hon'ble Mr. Campbell, nor from the one I sent to Judge McLean. But I hardly expected answers, both those gentlemen must have much to occupy their time.

I am afraid that my statue of Mr. Webster has gone to the bottom. It had been out 105 days last news from home and not heard from. Vessels which left Smyrna a month later had arrived. But the statue is insured to the full amount, \$12,000, so that I shall lose nothing but the time required to recast it. I was bound to deliver the statue and the insurance was purchased by me. The \$12,000 will therefore be mine on making the contract good by another statue. If this work is lost it will be the third statue of mine which has sunk on its way home, but the Eve and Mr. Calhoun's statue were both saved. 60 days is the usual time for reaching Boston or N. York by sail from Leghorn, and vessels out over 90 days are rarely heard from. I still hope, however that the "Oxford" is not lost. She was represented to me as a first rate American ship.

I shall try to visit England next spring, if I do not go home, and if nothing occurs to prevent I shall take my statue of "America" to London and have it shown at Messrs. Graves, Pall Mall, where the Greek statue was exhibited 10 or 12 years ago so successfully. I have some English friends of much influence who have advised this course, and they think there will be no difficulty in disposing of it to advantage. The figure has been lying in its case in my studio over a year, waiting for some decision of the Government, and I cannot well afford to keep it much longer. I still regard it as my best work, and little did I dream, even, that it would remain so long on my hands. Commissions have been given to other artists by the Government and the work has been executed since Congress passed the appropriation for me. They have had no difficulty, while my claim, although I am the oldest of American sculptors, has been treated with the most marked neglect, not to say contempt. Surely I cannot be justly blamed if I now seek a foreign market for this national subject. If I would

work fast like some of the sculptors employed by the Government, and get Tom Dick and Harry to *model* for me as they have done, then I could work cheaply and make money. But this I never did and never will do. It shall never be said that I put my name to a work not wholly my own. I could tell you some things that have come to my knowledge about this, but I am tired of writing upon this subject, as you must be of hearing about it. Read Mr. Ward's (brother to Mrs. Crawford) remarks in the *Evening Post* of N. York, in relation to the Virginia Monument, and Mr. Randolph Rodgers who has been appointed to finish the work, and you will see how Mr. Crawford got on so fast with his commissions, although absent himself much of the time, in America and elsewhere. I cannot work *by proxy*, and therefore on account of the price no work of mine is likely to be seen in or about our Capitol. This is the truth and let it go for what it is worth.

If my Webster statue is lost then, after replacing it with another bronze cast, I suppose there would be coming to me about \$10,000 insurance, clear of the expenses and if so, then I should want to invest the money in real estate, or on interest, well secured on real estate. Do you know how and where I could do this to advantage? I have about as much invested in the N. York Central Rai! Road, but in future, what I can spare I wish to place upon a surer footing.

I feel that we have stayed here about long enough, and we now want to go home, but where that home is to be remains to be determined upon, and how we are to live there is another thing to be considered. I expect to work hard all my days, and am happiest when at work, but have always desired to have it in my power to work for pleasure, and not necessarily for money. The Government appropriation, had it been carried out in the spirit in which it was made, would, added to what I have, and what I could sell my finished works for, have set me all right in this respect. But as that cannot now be relied upon, I must make the best of what I have.

I suppose that we could live in the neighborhood of Cincinnati (a family of 10 persons) for about \$2,500 a year, by practicing strict economy. We should not care to live in the city, and I own a house on Walnut Hills (Lane Seminary property-lease land) which by some additions might accommodate us. Now supposing

that I could raise about \$30,000, could this sum be invested in a manner to realize any thing like the amount we should require to live upon? If I could, why then I would run the risk of being able to earn the balance, and I would go home soon as I could arrange to leave here, which might be in a year more or less. I have had some thoughts of going to Kansas where I have a cousin (John P. Richardson) and Brother in Law, Mr. Henry T. Adams who is now Mayor of Leavenworth City, but my wife will not listen to the name of any place but Cincinnati, and if we can manage to live there I should much prefer it myself. I do not intend however to give up my studio here at once. I could model at home, bring the models here and have them blocked out in marble, so that the finishing alone would be done at home. Thus I could spend most of my time at home with the family, and in time perhaps get a few workmen to go home with me and live there, a thing most of them are loath to do, for they love their own country as much as I do mine.

As I am now doing, a few years more would render us independent, but those few years! 3 of our children are grown up, and we do not want to leave them abroad when we go, and this might happen, for at the age of election, we cannot always control our children. When we do go, we want to go altogether, and I would sooner go home a pauper, than leave one of my children behind.

When I look back upon the last 20 years (we have now been 20 years abroad), I find much reason to thank God, for the care He has taken of us. We have never really *suffered* for any thing. He has supplied all necessary wants, and more, He has placed us almost beyond want. To have reared so large a family in a foreign country, and by the practice of so precarious an art, is a thing surely to feel grateful for, but His agents must not be forgotten, nor did we forget you on the last Christmas day.

Your own sparkling Catawba graced our table. There they stood with their white cravats on, and *crinoline* forms, not empty and braced out by whalebone or steel hoops, but substantially full and resting on their own broad bottoms. We drank to the health of the great apostle of Temperance in America.

The whole family joins me in wishing you and yours a most happy New Year, and with affectionate regard, I am,

Ever your sincere friend,

HIRAM POWERS.

Is my old friend Miles Greenwood alive, or is he gone with many others whom I knew and esteemed so highly 20 years ago? I ask this question from having seen in a *Boston* paper an article which had the words—"Our own lamented Miles Greenwood". The article was in relation to steam fire engines.

If he is alive, and in your walks you could manage to see him, I should like to have you show him what I am about to say.

You know my love of mechanics. It was one of my earliest affections, and I have never been weaned from the *mother* which supported me before I knew any thing of sculpture. Some of my happiest days were spent in Watson's Clock Factory, and in my little work shop in Dorfeuills' Museum, and here during the 20 years we have been abroad, I have devoted many an evening when I could do nothing else, to mechanical contrivances, and I have invented several improvements which I think would pay well if *exploited*. I have taken out patents for two of them, my hollow open file and a punching machine. The file cannot clog, it being that the filings pass through it, and therefore, it is just the thing for copper smiths, plumbers, and hard wood workers, also for workers in bone, Ivory, horn, etc., etc.

The punching machine is so simple and easily made, that one of them capable of punching *boiler iron* can be afforded for less than 15 dolls. The plan is wholly new, and it is so compact and strong, that I might almost say, it cannot be broken and will hardly ever wear out. I have four of these nearly finished and intend to bring one of them to Cincinnati when I go home. I have heard that Greenwood has a fine machine shop and makes a great variety of works in iron, and it may be that on seeing what I have invented he would like to join me in carrying into practical use these contrivances, and if he is favourably disposed, I would say nothing elsewhere about them until after seeing him. I think he would soon be convinced of their practicability and utility. I have other contrivances, but these could be at once *exploited*.

You need say nothing to Greenwood about all this unless quite convenient. I would not have you go at all out of your way to do it.

H. P.

Florence, Oct. 3d, 1858.

My Dear Friend—My last to you was in relation to Mr. Kellogg's pamphlet. I thought it best to put you in possession of the facts in the case, and on your guard against the plausible style of this attack.

Mr. K. must have been at considerable expense with his pamphlet; scores of them have been sent to many places. A man here, by the name of Gould, has been distributing them about, but I do not find that any impression has been made, except that Mr. K. and his friend Gould have got their labour for their pains. The idea prevails that the pamphlet is a card or an advertisement of Mr. Kellogg's Picture Gallery at "19. bis rue Fountain, Saint Georges, Paris."

I do not find that there is occasion to notice the Pamphlet in a public manner, and Mr. K. is welcome to all the good it will do him or the harm it may do me.

The wine and Catawba Brandy has arrived in good order, and we are exceedingly obliged to you for it. It will last us a long while.

My affair with the Government now rests upon the decision of the President. Mr. Everett and Mr. Pierce (Chairman of the Library Committee) have recommended to him, that I should execute statues of Washington and Franklin—each 8 feet high, for \$10,000 a piece, and allow the surplus \$5,000 to lay over for future consideration. I had proposed this to Mr. Everett, and in July last he, conjointly with Mr. Pierce, proposed it to the President, but has as yet had no reply, and Mr. Everett thinks, that nothing will be done, although he has written a 2d time to the President, unless I go to Washington myself and attend to it.

I find it hard to leave my large family and make a voyage to Washington, to settle a matter requiring not more than perhaps 15 minutes of the President's own time to adjust. He promised to agree to whatever Mr. Everett and Mr. Pierce would recommend, but does not, and it may turn out in the end, that my journey home will result in nothing from the Government.

I was in hopes that Mr. Everett's 2d letter to the President would be noticed in a week or two, but two weeks have passed without another word from Mr. E., and if I shall hear nothing in

another week, and all is well with my family, I shall start for home. I shall send off the Webster statue (now done for the 2d time in bronze) this week and the statue of "America," the first to Boston and the last to N. York.

I did hope, that there would be no necessity for going home until next spring or summer when we could all go together, for in case of sickness in my family, we have no intimate friends here to assist my wife, and her health is feeble. I shall be ill at ease until back again and my stay will be as short as possible. But I shall come to you, if spared.

My greatest anxiety is about our 3d daughter, who has had 3 attacks of Rheumatic Fever, and could hardly survive another. She requires our constant attention.

Ex-President Pierce is expected here in a few days, with his wife who is consumptive. I have had several conversations with Mr. Hawthorne, and Mr. Mallet, both intimate friends of his, and they say, that there must have been some mistake, or that Genl Pierce must have been misled in regard to myself, as relates to the Government appropriation, and Mr. Hawthorne recommended me to see him, and explain the matter. I told him that that was a thing I should never do, and that if any explanations were to be made, I had been made the victim, and they were due to me. Mr. Hawthorne (the author) seemed surprised when I told him how I had been treated by Genl Pierce and regretted that he should not see him on his arrival here, as he was about to leave for Rome. I have little doubt myself, that Genl Pierce was influenced,—enough has come to my knowledge to make this more than probable, and it is quite likely that similar influences are now operating on Mr. Buchanan, who 22 years ago took up the cause of Persico the Italian sculptor so warmly and made a speech for him in the Senate. He now neglects his own countryman and to all appearance at least, follows in the footsteps of his predecessor,—for he made promises only to raise hopes which he never meant should be realized.

O! money! money! No, I will not say *money*, but necessity, that's the word. If it were not for necessity I would stay here until we could all go home together. We lost one of our dear children last year by Rheumatic Fever, and my wife came near following her. She was reduced to little more than bones, and the

same thing may happen again, and I away! Our hopes are, that change of climate may do good to my wife and daughter, and that we may be able to live at home. I go before them to secure the means.

If I am not partial to democratic Presidents, and some of the principles of Democracy, can you blame me? "Swing your hat for me, split your throat hurrahing for me, and when I am elected, then come to me for your reward"; all others may go to the dogs.—These are views which I could never entertain and the last candidate I would vote for would be he who would reward the act. There should be no *mere* personal considerations in politics. When men and not measures predominate, then goodbye to our institutions.

One of my objects, after seeing you, will be to find a suitable place in or near Cincinnati to locate my family. I have thought of going over to Kentucky where I could get more ground for the same money, and as there will be a bridge across the river, it would suit me just as well. I must keep a studio here for some years longer, and spend some of my time abroad, but I want a place to call *home* and where I can plant trees, make a garden and have rest when I can no longer work. The place I now have on Walnut Hills is too small, and besides it does not offer a view of the river, an object I should always like to behold. This is the darling dream of my wife, who thinks that the original paradise was situated at, or not far from Cincinnati.

Pray remember me most kindly to your family, to Mr. Greene and other friends, and believe me ever affectionately yours,
HIRAM POWERS.

N. Longworth, Esqr.

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SELECTIONS FROM THE TORRENCE PAPERS, I.

Arranged and Edited by
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Cincinnati, Ohio

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CONTENTS.

- I. 1823, Feb. 28, Thomas P. Jesup to James Findlay.
- II. 1823, May 24, Thomas Finley to James Findlay.
- III. 1824, Jan. 1, John Findlay to George P. Torrence.
- IV. 1825, Jan. 16, George McLean to Thomas Sloo, Jr.
- V. 1825, Feb. 15, William McLean to George P. Torrence.
- VI. 1825, June 22, Thomas Finley to Thomas Sloo, Jr.
- VII. 1826, Feb. 9, James Findlay to George P. Torrence.
- VIII. 1826, Apr. 2, James Findlay to George P. Torrence.
- IX. 1827, Nov. 20, Elijah Hayward to James Findlay.
- X. 1829, Apr. 30, Thomas Finley to James Findlay.
- XI. 1830, Mar. 18, Morgan Neville to James Findlay.
- XII. 1830, May 19, William Findlay to James Findlay.
- XIII. 1830, May 20, William Findlay to James Findlay.
- XIV. 1831, Dec. 23, Morgan Neville to James Findlay.
- XV. 1832, May 26, William Findlay to James Findlay.
- XVI. 1832, Dec. 28, Thomas Finley to James Findlay.
- XVII. 1834, Feb. 7, John McLean to James Findlay.
- XVIII. 1834, Sep. 3, John Spear Smith to Thomas Finley.
- XIX. 1834, Sep. 20, Thomas Finley to James Findlay.

SELECTIONS FROM THE TORRENCE PAPERS, I.

NATIONAL POLITICS OF THE JACKSONIAN ERA, AS ILLUSTRATED BY
THE FINDLAY LETTERS.

FOREWORD.

The following selections from the *Torrence Papers*, in the manuscript collections of the "Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio," have been chosen with the idea of illustrating certain phases of national politics during and immediately preceding the so-called Jacksonian Era. Although most of the letters were written by persons of secondary importance only in the political field, they will show the opinions of the rank and file, and thus serve to throw new light upon the "practical politics" of the day. In the selection of material the editor has taken the liberty of leaving out what was merely of minor personal character, or which referred to some other topic reserved for future treatment. Although this course has rendered many of the extracts "scrappy" in character, it was necessary in view of the limitations of time and space. The editor believes that nothing of essential importance has been omitted from the letters used.

The peculiar conditions of the party alliances and the various motives that then ruled the political world, are fortunately illustrated with a certain unity by the letters of the various members of the Findlay family, largely used in this issue. During two decades five brothers of this family occupied important, though minor official stations, in four states of the Union. General James Findlay (1775-1835) was from 1825 to 1833 the representative in Congress from the First Ohio District. His brother John, of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, was also in the lower house of Congress from 1823 to 1827, and later served under Jackson as postmaster of his town. William Findlay (1768-1846) was governor of Pennsylvania from 1817 to 1820; was in the United States Senate from 1821 to 1827; and in 1830 was appointed Director of the United States Mint

at Philadelphia. Thomas Finley, who was of the same family, although he preferred to spell his name "as it was pronounced," was Marshal for the District of Maryland under both Adams and Jackson. Jonathan Findlay, after a varied editorial experience in several states, was for a time Register of the Land Office in Missouri. In its honorable record of continuous office holding, both of elective and appointive character, the history of this family can hardly be equaled. It is especially fortunate for our purpose that this fact forms one of the minor events of the Jacksonian Era.

The *Torrence Papers* came into the possession of the Society in 1887, through the gift of Aaron Torrence, Esquire, (d. 1893), who was a son of George Paull Torrence. The latter served for two terms as president judge of the Ninth Circuit of Ohio, and was one of the executors for the estate of General James Findlay. The papers are described at length in the *Annual Report* of the Society for 1887. Brief notices of the above mentioned characters may be found in Drake, *Dictionary of American Biography*; Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati*; and in other places mentioned in the notes of the following pages.

In the preparation of this material I have had the most efficient assistance of the Librarian of the Society, Miss L. Belle Hamlin. In certain instances I have taken the liberty of modernizing the punctuation, particularly that of the dates, and have reduced superior letters to the general level of the text; but otherwise I have adhered closely to the original text.

I. J. C.

I.

THOMAS P. JESUP TO JAMES FINDLAY.

WASHINGTON CITY, Feby. 28th, 1823.¹

My dear Genl.

* * * * *

Congress will rise in three days. They have done but little business of importance, nothing for the industry of the country²—indeed, nothing in that way may be hoped for until the power of the West be felt. Our increased representation will give a decided majority next year to the friends of manufactures; and then no doubt something will be done.

* * * * *

Sincerely yours,

TH. P. JESUP.

Genl. James Findlay,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

II.

THOMAS FINLEY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BALTO., 24th May, 1823.³

Brother James,

* * * * *

I have a desire to know who will be the next President. Can you tell anything about it? Our Penn[sylvani]a friends are greatly attached to Mr. Calhoun, and I really believe he is a fine fellow, but I think his prospects are not so bright as our friends seem to suppose. It must be admitted, however, that he is the second choice of almost every man in the country.⁴ I have no

1. *Torrence Papers*, Box 13, No. 24.

2. In his annual message in December, 1822, Monroe had asked for an increase in certain duties. In accordance with his suggestion the Committee on Manufactures reported a bill increasing those on iron, coarse woolens, and dyed cottons, but the bill failed in the Committee of the Whole. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, 231.

3. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 21.

4. The editor of *Niles Register*, in the issue for Nov. 6, 1824, in mentioning Calhoun in connection with the Vice-Presidency, states: "He is the only candidate in whose favor the *people* have moved."

personal knowledge of any of the candidates, but judging from their productions I would rank them in the following order: Adams, Calhoun, Clay, Jackson, Crawford. Adams as a writer has no superior either at home or abroad, but his cold manners operate very much against him.

Clay stands very well as a politician with the republicans of Penn[sylvani]a, but they have some objections to his moral character. In this state and more especially in the City the majority is in favor of Mr. Adams.⁵

* * * * *

THO FINLEY.⁶

Genl. James Findlay,
Cincinnati.

III.

JOHN FINDLAY TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

WASHINGTON CITY, January 1st, 1824.⁷

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 21 ult. came to hand this morning. When I write letters I am something like Paddy when he was obliged to turn out [as] volunteer—I do it from necessity.

* * * * *

I think at present Mr. Crawford is the strongest man with the present members of Congress, but who will eventually succeed is impossible to tell. My own opinion is that Mr. Calhoun will eventually be the man; in Penn[sylvani]a there is none of them will do, except Calhoun or Jackson, and I think the ticket for electors will be formed so as to take either of them as circumstances may justify. The Penn[sylvanian]s will not agree

5. The estimated vote of Maryland in the election of the following year was Adams, 14,632; Jackson, 14,523. Adams received three of the electoral votes of the state, and its vote in the ensuing election in the House of Representatives. Cf. Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, 136, 140.

6. Although Thomas Finley's spelling of the family name did not meet his brother James's approval, he was a fairly regular correspondent of the latter, and one whose letters were of more than ordinary interest. For mention of Thomas Finley see FOREWORD.

7. *Torrence Papers*, Box 8, No. 31.

to go into a Caucus⁸—our state would not be represented. We have seven Federal members, and besides it appears to me that the people are determined to put down the caucus candidate.

* * * * *

With esteem your friend,

JOHN FINDLAY.⁹

Hon. George Torrance [*sic*],
Cincinnati, Ohio.

IV.

GEORGE MCLEAN TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

WASHINGTON, 16th Jany., 1825.¹⁰

Dear Sir,

* * * * *

The question of President is beginning to be looked about a little, but it is a matter of entire doubt who is to succeed. Mr. Crawford's friends still maintain that his prospect is equal. In this I have no hesitation in saying that they are wrong. At present, however, things are so unsettled that his chance may be the best before the question is tried. But be certain that everything on the subject is so doubtful that no man seems to have anything like a settled opinion as to the likely result.

* * * * *

Yours,

G. MCLEAN.¹¹

Thos. Sloo, Jr., Esq.,
McLeansboro, Ill.

8. *Niles Register*, XXV, 227 points out the fact that Pennsylvania with seven Federalists would be at a disadvantage in comparison with Virginia, whose whole congressional delegation could attend a caucus. This fact may have had some effect on the position of that state. On January, 1824, the Legislature, with the sanction of the congressional delegation, passed resolutions against the caucus. Upon recommendation of the delegation a convention was held for the purpose of nominating candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency.

9. John Findlay was then serving as a congressman from Pennsylvania.

10. *Torrence Papers*, Box, 17, No. 12.

11. The remainder of the letter shows that G. McLean had been an unsuccessful candidate for senator from Illinois. In 1819 he had voted against the Tallmadge Amendment to the act for admitting Missouri. Cf. Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 73.

V.

WILLIAM MCLEAN TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

WASHINGTON, 15 Feby., 1825.¹²
HOUSE OF REP.

Dear Sir,

* * * * *

Since the Presidential question is put to rest, the excitement has subsided here, and we have had a great calm. Many speculations in regard to the cabinet, but nothing certainly known except the offer of the Treasury Department to Mr. Crawford, which he promptly declined, and the offer of the Department of State to Mr. Clay, which I am inclined to think he will accept.

I am very respectfully,

Your Obdt. Servt.

WM MCLEAN.¹³

Hon. G. P. Torrence,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

VI.

THOMAS FINLEY TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

BALTIMORE, 22nd June, 1825.¹⁴

Dear Sir,

Man is unquestionably a selfish animal. It is a long time since I have written to you, and it might be a longer time before I would write, had I not something to request of you—yet I would not have you suppose that I do not often think of you and my good niece and that I do not feel anxious for your health and prosperity. But to the point—

It is thought Mr. Maury, the U. S. Consul at Liverpool, will not be able to hold out much longer as he is an old man and his health rapidly declining. The situation is a desirable one and might be made very profitable if connected with a commercial establishment. I am desirous to obtain it and will make application to the President for it when the vacancy occurs, but the

12. *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, No. 16.

13. At that time congressman from Ohio. Cf. *Annals*, 18 Cong. 1, p. 794.

14. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 22.

competition for it will be very great. No doubt Phila[del-
phia], New York and Boston will all furnish applicants in
abundance, but I presume there will be no candidates from the
west, hence I wish to obtain all the Western influence that my
friends can command for me, and I wish to prepare *now*, for
there will not be time after it is known there is a vacancy.

I wish to obtain letters from as many members of the senate
and of the House of R[epresentatives] as I can, addressed to
either the President or Mr. Sec[retar]y Clay, therefore, if you
can do anything for me in Illinois, Indiana and Missouri I shall
esteem it [a] favor.

I have the pleasure of being personally known to Judge
Thomas¹⁵ and Mr. Cook,¹⁶ but I am afraid not well enough to
make direct application to them in an affair of this kind. I have
written to brother John¹⁷ to apply to Mr. Cook, who I know has
a great respect for the "old Colonel."

I cannot say that I am confident of success, but it is a place
of much importance as regards the interest of my family and
therefore well worth a powerful effort. I have reason to believe
that the President is favorably disposed towards me, but this
particular place will doubtless be sought after by many powerful
men powerfully supported; hence, I will not feel so much disap-
pointed if I do not obtain it. Were the vacancy to occur during
the session of Congress my prospect would perhaps be better
for me, but I think it probable that it will occur in the course of
the summer. It is therefore desirable that I should be in pos-
session of letters of recommendation that I may use them when
occasion may require.

Altho' you were a Crawfordite I presume you feel indignant
at the attempt which has been made to excite public prejudice
against your friend Clay.¹⁸ He will I am persuaded triumph

15. Judge Jesse B. Thomas, senator from Illinois, who first defin-
itely suggested which was afterwards known as the "Missouri Compro-
mise Line".

16. Daniel P. Cook, member of the House of Representatives from
Illinois, and son-in-law of Ninian Edwards. In 1826 he was defeated
for Congress by Joseph Duncan [See Note 78], largely because he had
voted for Adams. Cf. Benton, *Thirty Years View*, I, 35.

17. Colonel John Findlay of Chambersburg, Pa. Cf. Note 9.

18. The reference is, of course, to the now exploded charge of a
coalition between Clay and Adams, by which the latter secured the
Presidency while the former became Secretary of State.

over his enemies and one day or other, if his health is preserved, he will be the President. For myself, I believe that he was governed by pure motives in the course he pursued, and that the result is a fortunate one for the nation.

* * * * *

THO FINLEY.¹⁹

Thomas Sloo, Junr., Esquire,
Care of the Postmaster, Shawnee Town, Illinois.

VII.

SAMUEL FINDLAY TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

CHAMBERSB'G, Feby. 9th, 1826.²⁰

Dear Sir,

I received yours of the 28th ultimo a few days since in which you gave the pleasing intelligence of your re-election;²¹ from the vote you had a pretty hard pull, but notwithstanding you gained your point, which is a very pleasing circumstance.

No doubt you have seen ere this that the Judicial bill²² has passed the House by an overwhelming majority, which no doubt is very pleasing to the people of the West; they had a great deal of debating and some of it very warm. George Kremer you will observe made a *thundering* speech as long as it lasted, which was

19. Thomas Finley did not obtain this consulship, but was later made U. S. Marshal for the District of Maryland. Nevertheless he later supported Jackson and retained his office under the latter. Cf. *Niles Register*, XL, 26.

20. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 2.

21. For Torrence's official position, Cf. FOREWORD.

22. On December, 22, 1825, Mr. Webster from the Judiciary Committee of the House reported a bill to amend the Judiciary Act by the creating new circuits in the western states. On January 25, by a vote of 32 to 59, the bill was ordered to its third reading [*Register of Debates*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 1149]. It is to this that the writer refers. The debate turned largely upon the question of the power of the national judiciary and of the needs of the West with regard to additional courts. In the course of this *thundering* speech [*Ibid* p. 1053] above mentioned, George Kremer stated that the whole judicial system of the country was radically wrong—in fact, was a denial of justice; and that the multiplying of federal courts was not an advantage. This is the same Kremer who achieved notoriety as the tool used in publishing the coalition charge against Clay and Adams.

not very long. They are now debating on the *call* for information respecting the Panama Congress²³ with a considerable degree of warmth by some of the anti administration party, which in my opinion is all useless for them to make an opposition. They had better keep cool as yet, and not make themselves Mosey Dawsons²⁴ for fear they expend all their *ammunition* before the next election, which might and would make them regret their course; and no doubt *you* wish so.

* * * * *

Our wiseacres at Harrisburg have passed the famous Canal Bill in the Lower House,²⁵ it has excited a good deal of Talk and ill will in this part of the state; it will ruin our country. Several of the old Germans in this county are determined to sell for *any thing*, and leave the state if they pass the bill, and lay a tax, which will be a matter of course.

You will see by the Penn[sylvani]a papers that we are determined to run J. A. Shulze²⁶ for Gov[ernor]. the wishes of the good folk of Cincinnati to the contrary notwithstanding. We hear nothing said about Kremer at all as a candidate; no doubt if some of your people had any thing to do with it they would have him in spite of everything.

* * * * *

I remain your sincere friend,

SAML FINDLAY.²⁷

Geo. P. Torrence, Esqr.,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

23. For the details of this debate, cf. McMaster, V, 451; *Register of Debates*, Vol. II, Part I.

24. Moses Dawson was a Cincinnati editor of Irish extraction. In 1824, he published a life of General William Henry Harrison. Between 1825 and 1828, he edited and published the *Cincinnati Advertiser*, and in the re-formation of political parties of this period he became Jacksonian in politics and his paper the leading Jackson organ of this vicinity. He was later appointed receiver of public moneys at Cincinnati, but was rejected by the Senate and succeeded by Morgan Neville [see note 46]. He has been characterized as a rough, ungainly man, but a vigorous writer. Cf. Mansfield, *Personal Memories*, 1803-1843, p. 176; *Niles Register*, XXXVIII, 271.

25. Cf. McMaster, V, 142.

26. He became governor of Pennsylvania, in which office he was succeeded by George Wolf. In 1832, he was nominated by the Jackson opponents for governor, but although disapproving Jackson's policies, declined to run. Cf. *Rept. Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1902, Vol. I, 444.

27. Son of William Findlay and afterward a lawyer in Cincinnati.

VIII.

JAMES FINDLAY TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

WASHINGTON CITY, 2d April, 1826.²⁸

D'r George,

* * * * *

You will see by numerous papers the sharpest shooting in the House of Representatives that has ever taken place on the floor of Congress. The parties were McDuffey, Trimble, and Vance, of Ohio—I set them down in the order they spoke. What ulterior measures may grow of the charges or assertions, is uncertain, and all are conjecturing. The question was on amending the constitution, which question was sent to [a] select committee of 24 who are not yet appointed.²⁹

I would be glad to have the opinion of my Cincinnati friends on the Bankrupt Bill.³⁰ God bless you.

JAMES FINDLAY.

George P. Torrence, Esquire.

IX.

ELIJAH HAYWARD TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 20, 1827.³¹

Dear Sir,

From all appearances, the administration party are deter

28. *Torrence Papers*, Box 6, No. 67.

29. In the course of the debate on a proposition to amend the Constitution so as to prevent the election of president and vice-president by Congress, Geo. B. McDuffie, representative from South Carolina, emphasized the charge of a coalition between Clay and Adams [*Register of Debates*, Vol. II, Part I, 1365]. Some two weeks later Trimble of Kentucky and Joseph Vance of Ohio spoke on the same subject [*Ibid* 1900, 1917]. Trimble favored an amendment that did not interfere with the rights of the states, but defended Clay from the charge of a corrupt bargain. Vance defended his policy in favoring Adams and drew from McDuffie a scathing reply. McDuffie and Trimble later served on the committee of twenty-four mentioned in the letter. William Findlay was one of a similar committee of nine appointed in the Senate. Cf. McMaster, V, 500; Benton, *Thirty Years View*, I, 78.

30. On this very day, Webster from the Committee on Judiciary, introduced a resolution to the effect that it was "expedient to establish by law a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States". It was referred to the Committee of the Whole, but no definite action followed. Cf. *Register of Debates*, Vol. II, Part I, 867.

31. *Torrence Papers*, Box 11, No. 34.

mined to make a desperate effort to carry Ohio for Adams.³² This fact makes it necessary that the friends of Gen. Jackson should be more vigilant than ever. Ohio is now too important a member of the Union to be lost to the Jackson cause. Every exertion should be made, by the friends of the old hero, to secure him our sixteen Electoral votes. The time and place to mature our plans and to prepare the necessary measures to insure success, will be this winter at Columbus. You can materially assist us, by giving us all the information in your power of whatever may transpire at Washington, whether among our own friends, or in the councils of our enemies. In fact, it may be as much importance to us to be acquainted with the plans and contemplated movements of our opponents, as to understand our own. The struggle will, unquestionably, be a hard one in Ohio. Every art and intrigue which the genius of the partisans and adherents of the Coalition can invent will be employed to defeat us. Lately there are strong indications that our opponents will not fail for want of *money*.³³ If, however, while at Columbus, we can be kept advised of every important matter which may be known at Washington, this winter, we shall be enabled to conduct our campaign to great advantage. I assure you, sir, this is of very great importance to our cause. Allow me, then, to request you to write me as often as once a week, and oftener if necessary, during the coming winter and spring, and give me such information as may come to your knowledge, relating to the next Presidency. This is a matter which has been very much neglected for the two last winters, while our administration members of Congress have literally loaded the mail with letters and other communications to their political friends in Ohio Legislature. I pray you attend to this part of our policy, *very particularly*, and please excuse the liberty I have taken.

32. A perusal of the columns of the *Ohio State Journal* for this period will show that Ohio was the one western state that the Adams party had hopes of carrying, but they were defeated by a narrow majority. The figures as given in the *Journal* for Nov. 20, 1828, are Jackson, 67,596; Adams, 63,456.

33. There seems to be no more definite basis for this charge than the fact that the Adams party was strongly in favor of a protective tariff and that such a policy would naturally attract to it the wealthier classes.

Your election of Speaker is *all important* to the Jackson cause. If you should succeed in electing a *Jacksonian*, it will produce the most beneficial effect to us, and dishearten our opponents. Let *that* event occur,³⁴ and I believe Ohio will be *certain* for the Old Hero. In such case, we shall have on our side, the 10,000 who are now in doubt which party to unite with. Indeed, the exertions of our friends at Washington this winter, can do much for this state. In fact, I have no doubt their particular attention to Ohio, can be made equal to 5,000 votes for Gen. Jackson.

Our Jackson state convention, on the 8th of January next, will be large and respectable. I calculate much good from it, in every point of view in which its influence can be considered. Our Legislature, as to the Presidency, will be nearly equally divided. It is not yet certain which party has the majority.

I will thank you to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, as soon as convenient. Direct to Columbus, from which place I will write you often during the session.

With sentiments of sincere respect and esteem, I am personally and politically yours,

ELIJAH HAYWARD.³⁵

P. S.—We have just heard that N. York City has given 3,000 majority for the Jackson ticket, but no assurance that the report is true. E. H.

Gen. James Findlay.

Member of Congress,

Washington City, District of Columbia.

34. The opponents of the administration in the House of Representatives succeeded in electing as their speaker Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia. Cf. Benton, *View*, I, 92.

35. Elijah Hayward, a Cincinnati lawyer, was at that time one of the three representatives from Hamilton County in the lower house of the Ohio Legislature. He is reported in the *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1825 [p. 47] as editor of the *National Republican*. In 1826, his seat in the legislature was contested, but the contest was decided in his favor (*Ohio State Journal*, Dec. 14, 1826). A former Clinton man, the example of his chief and the shrewd advice of Jackson's manager, W. B. Lewis, seem to have brought him to the party of the "Old Hero". Cf. Sumner, *Jackson*, 147.

X.

THOMAS FINLEY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BALTIMORE, 30th April, 1829.³⁶

Brother James,

By this time I hope that I may safely congratulate you on your safe arrival at Cincinnati * * * * and I intended to congratulate you upon the appointment of your friend Louis McLean [McLane]³⁷ as Minister to England, but it is now almost too late. Were all the appointments by the present Executive as unexceptionable as this, the country would have reason to be satisfied.

Removals appear to be the order of the day and the Editors of Newspapers appear to be the most fortunate class of people as they have been much more favored than any other. What a host of them have been appointed!

I feel surprised and disappointed that brother William has not been noticed by the present Executive. This is the more extraordinary, as the impression was very general, both in Pennsylvania and this state, that some respectable situation would be offered to him—and it was supposed to be placed beyond all doubt when his personal and political friend³⁸ was placed at the Head of a Department.

The Collector of this port has been continued but the naval officer, Surveyor, and ten of the Deputy Inspectors have been removed.

I believe that some are of the opinion that I will be removed in turn—but I rather think they will be disappointed.³⁹ I have however no particular information on the subject.

36. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 37.

37. Louis McLane [1786-1857] was a member of Congress from Delaware from 1817 to 1827, and in the latter year was advanced to the Senate, where he served until his appointment as minister to England. In 1831, he returned to this country to assume the position of Secretary of Treasury, became head of the State Department in 1833, and retired from political life in 1834, because of lack of sympathy with Jackson's policies. Cf. Drake, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 586.

38. Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury.

39. He was re-appointed as Marshal for the District of Maryland. Cf. *Niles Register*, XL, 26.

Brother John⁴⁰ you will observe has been complimented with the Postoffice—but this is rather a small matter and I hope his friend Wolf⁴¹ may have it in his power to offer him something better.

Brother William was at Harrisburgh when I last heard from him, and I presume is still there. There is a mystery in relation to the manner in which he has been passed over which I am unable to unravel. He however supports his spirits as if nothing had occurred to disappoint him.

This letter is intended for yourself.

* * * * *

THO FINLEY.

Genl. James Findlay,
Cincinnati.

XI.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CIN., March 18th, 1830.⁴²

Dear General,

A number of your Jackson friends have requested me to ask you to procure for them a copy of the signatures to the Cincinnati petition against Sunday Mails.⁴³ If in your power I sh[oul]d like you to comply with their request.

If Clayton's⁴⁴ speech on the removing power of the

40. Colonel John Findlay was made postmaster at Chambersburg, Pa. On December 25, 1830, he writes his brother James, to use his influence with Colonel R. M. Johnson of Kentucky, in order to obtain an increase in the pay of postmasters of his class. Cf. *Torrence Papers*, Box 8, No. 32.

41. George Wolf, congressman from Pennsylvania and governor of the state from 1829 to 1835.

42. *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 6.

43. The matter of Sunday mails was discussed in both the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses, [Cf. *Register of Debates*, Vol. 5, App. p. 26, and Vol. 6, Part I, p. 427], but with no definite result. The agitation was apparently started among the Presbyterians of the country. Two interesting letters on this subject are to be found in the *Torrence Papers*, Box 9, Nos. 5 and 15.

44. Senator John M. Clayton, of Delaware. There is a reference to this speech in the *Register of Debates*, Vol. 6, Part I, p. 385, but the speech itself does not appear in the volume.

Pres[iden]t is published in a pamphlet form, I will thank you for a copy. The childish squabble in the Senate, may be productive of much good; it involves an illustration of first principles which may be useful, and a good deal of high steam escapes, which might otherwise be carried rankling home to the individual states, to the imminent danger of the whole Machine.

We have no news. Chilton's⁴⁵ apostacy is making some noise. Those of Mr. Clay's friends who were lately ridiculing him as a noisy fool, look solemn now, as they pronounce the name of "*Mr. Chilton*" and say his change is an important "sign."

* * * * *

Sincerely yours,

MORGAN NEVILLE.⁴⁶

Honble. Genl. James Findlay,
Member of Congress,
Washington City.

XII.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

PITTSBURG, May 19th, 1830.⁴⁷

Brother James,

Yours of the 9th instant came duly to hand. Whilst I was at Washington in March, 1829, I soon became fully persuaded, from the arrangements that had, and were about making, that no official place would be found for me worthy of my acceptance. I was not long there until I ascertained it was circulated in the City, that our Family influence was too great, and ought to be

45. Thomas Chilton of Kentucky was a member of the House of Representatives from 1827 to 1831 and from 1833 to 1835. In 1833, as presidential elector, he voted for Mr. Clay. About this time he published a letter comparing the expenses of Jackson's and Adam's administrations, which Clay commended. Cf. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 351; *Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*, 258.

46. Morgan Neville (1786-1839), at one time editor of the *Pittsburg Gazette*, removed to Cincinnati about 1824. Here he was secretary of an insurance company and a contributor to periodicals. He was appointed receiver of public moneys for this district, when the Senate failed to confirm Jackson's nomination of Moses Dawson for that office.

47. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 63.

checked rather than extended, that our ambition in grasping after office was unbounded, and that I, in particular, had received more than a common share of public favor and full as much as I was entitled to.⁴⁸ With whom these allegations originated, or who they were that put them into circulation, I have yet to learn. They are all, however, that I then heard on the subject. Unless indeed that there was an insinuation made to the President in relation to my pecuniary embarrassments, which I learned from a friend made no impression on him and was unworthy of further notice. Thinking that these allegations might possibly be infused, by some of our enemies, into the mind of the President so as to impress it unfavorably towards our Family, and being desirous to avert this, and wishing to retain his good opinion, apart from office which I had not then any expectation of receiving, I asked him if he had heard anything said about the ambition of our Family or anything derogatory to the character of any of them. He replied that he had not, and observed, in substance, that the character of the Family were too well known to him to listen to anything of the kind; and added, that he was fully acquainted with my high standing in Penn[sylvani]a. Hence it would appear, that there were no specific objections at that time to any of the Family.

We had much conversation on the difficulties of exercising the Executive patronage. In the course of which I gave him to understand, explicitly, that the object of my visit to Washington, was not to importune him for an office, however convenient one might be to me, that it was well known he had it not in his power to confer offices on all his friends; and, that let me be in a private or public station, I should continue his friend, as I had been, on the ground of principle. I also mentioned, that any one who

48. In this connection it may be interesting to note that William Findlay had been Governor of Pennsylvania, United States Senator, and later served as Director of the Mint at Philadelphia; John Findlay had served two terms in Congress and was then postmaster at Chambersburg, Pa.; Thomas Finley was then serving his second term as United States Marshal for the District of Maryland; James Findlay had been Receiver of Public Moneys, at Cincinnati, a Brigadier-General in federal service in the war of 1812, and was then in Congress from the First Ohio District; another brother Jonathan had served as Register of the Land Office in Missouri. This record of one generation of office holding by the Findlay family goes far to justify the above complaint.

had been his friend and should oppose his administration merely because he did not receive an office, would clearly show that he was unworthy of one. He concurred in the sentiment, and said the modest manner in which I had spoken of myself, he should not forget, and hoped an opportunity would arise that might enable him to gratify himself by giving me an appointment.

It is not improbable but what some of the circulators of the allegations alluded to, may have learned the favorable sentiments of the President towards me, and having found their former allegations unavailing, resorted to the one to which you refer, as a more potent engine to remove a bar that they apprehended might obstruct the preferment of themselves or some of their friends. Be this as it may, I am surprised, from the President's knowledge of mankind, and the friendly sentiments he expressed in relation to me, that he should have given any credence to it, and this too in opposition to the information of one, than whom no person had a better opportunity of knowing the facts, and who, as one of his Cabinet, was entitled to his confidence.⁴⁹ Experience, in his present station, will teach him (though honorable minds would not descend to it) that many will resort to every artifice and trick that human ingenuity can devise, to lower, or destroy, the character of those that they may view as rival candidates for office, of themselves or friends. When I had the dispensing of Executive patronage, such impositions were at first, practiced on me with success; but I was soon taught not to give credit to any evil report against an applicant for office, unless it was sustained by the most conclusive testimony. In some instances I afforded the party implicated an opportunity to repel the allegation, if he thought proper to do so, and which some embraced. I could repel the report in question by many of the most respectable citizens in different parts of the state, and who have had the best means of knowing the facts in the case. But I, known as I am, would not resort to such a degrading alternative for any Executive office. It might be proper for a candidate before the people to do so under certain circumstances; but an Executive, if he takes the trouble, he can always acquire correct information to guide his

49. This is a reference to Samuel D. Ingham, then Secretary of the Treasury.

decision in such cases, unless the individual should be very obscure, or little known. If, however, I could so descend, it is now unnecessary as the doubt is removed.

It is not a little astonishing, that it escaped the reflection of the President, when indulging his credulity, that if the people of the United States, had believed the fourth part of the evil reports which were circulated against himself, he would not have been elected; and that they, though many of the reports were presented in an imposing form, acted on the principle that they were false and malignant. Had I been as credulous, as he has been in my case, I should not have been one of the two who headed the electoral ticket in this state. It is true, the state, from the impression of the falsehood of the reports, would have been in his favor without the use of my name, I am nevertheless persuaded it served to increase his majority, as my name being on the ticket convinced many old republicans of influence, that he was the real republican Candidate for the Presidency. A number of them mentioned this to me.

I claim nothing for any service I may have rendered in the cause, and which I intend to uphold in the same manner, as if I were favorably noticed by the President.

Some of the citizens of this place, you know, wished last fall, to nominate me as a candidate for Congress. Among other reasons which I had for declining the proposed honor, I thought it might distract the Jackson party, and from the grounds upon which I would have been nominated, I should have been considered, in public estimation, as arrayed against the present administration, notwithstanding the declarations I might have made to the contrary. This is an imputation I do not wish to incur.

My feelings toward Mr. Ingham are not changed, nor they will not change unless he should do something that I cannot anticipate. He has always had warm friends and bitter enemies in the state, and some decided Jacksonites are among the latter. Several of his enemies have endeavoured to render me hostile to him by detailing to me many things unnecessary to repeat, but all without effect. My replies to their observations were uniformly favorable to him.

If my name should be laid before the President for the station in view,⁵⁰ I shall not be sanguine of success.

I have not heard anything from Jonathan⁵¹ for a long time neither directly or indirectly. I wrote him some time ago, but there has not been time to have received an answer. I never had an intimation of the report you have mentioned respecting him, and I trust it will prove unfounded. I have not written to him on the subject. It might be important for him to know, that if the report be not true he may be restored to the good opinion of the government. I think it would be better for you to write him in this case than if I were to write. The information would be more direct, and it would save him postage. I shall write him, however, if you should decline it. I shall expect to hear from you shortly. I do not know where my son Samuel is. It would appear that you are to have a long session.

Remember me affectionately to Jane.⁵²

Your brother,

WM. FINDLAY.

Genl. J. Findlay.

XIII.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

PITTSBURG, May 20th, 1830.⁵³

Brother James,

In my letter of yesterday I omitted to state some things which I shall now do.

The electoral College unanimously elected me their President and unanimously appointed me to carry the return of the election to Washington. The object of which was, as I was told by some of the members, to indicate my standing in the state, and indirectly and delicately, to bring me to the favorable notice of the President. If it would not have been indecorous and improper, for the College, immediately after having voted for

50. Possibly the position in the Mint which he later obtained.

51. He was then living in Missouri [Cf. FOREWORD]. He had had a chequered career as an editor, but politically had been less successful than his brothers.

52. Mrs. Jane Findlay, wife of James.

53. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 64.

him, to request him in direct terms, to confer an office on one of their own body, I am fully convinced every one of them would have been willing to have requested him to have conferred one on me. Perhaps he did not know, or if he did know may have forgotten, that these trusts were confided to me. The appointment of Kendal⁵⁴ to carry the vote of Kentucky to Washington, is the only public station he ever occupied that gave him any prominence in other states. If I should be nominated I am greatly mistaken, if it would not be approved by a greater vote of the Senate than his nomination was, and more respectful to the opinion of the President. If I should not be nominated, having now been long taught in the school of adversity, no one could submit to such a disappointment with more philosophic composure than I shall do.

Judge Torrence,⁵⁵ his son John, and Col[onel] Ramsey,⁵⁶ arrived here this morning from Cincinnati. * * * * The Col[onel] talks about setting out for Washington in the course of a few days. He appears extremely anxious to obtain the situation you mentioned to me he had applied for. He thinks if he could obtain it he could soon acquire a handsome fortune. I stated to him that you said such situations were generally given to disbanded officers. This he was aware of, but says there has been many exceptions to the rule. I am desirous that he should obtain it, but I do not think I can render him any aid in the case. I am induced to believe that no one has much influence at Washington, who is not in the possession of political power of some kind or other. I am pretty certain that I would not have with the Secretary of War, to whose Department the situation in question belongs. Nor I cannot think of any one to whom I

54. Amos Kendall, the famous members of Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet". Cf. Sumner, *Jackson*, 47.

55. Judge George P. Torrence.

56. Possibly Colonel James P. Ramsey who applied for the position of Superintendent of the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry. A letter from him in 1819 was dated at Hamilton, [Ohio?]. A John Ramsey [1779-1833], formerly a person of note in Mercersburg and Pittsburg, Pa., died at Maysville, in 1833.

could write, that would render him any service, who he is not himself acquainted with.

* * * * *

Your affectionate brother,

WM. FINDLAY.

Genl. James Findlay, Member of Congress,
Washington City.

XIV.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 23, 1831.⁵⁷

Dear General,

* * * * *

The Clayites here, are pleased; they have an idea that Mr. C. *can* and *will*, so modify his tariff notions,⁵⁸ as to conciliate the south, and thereby bring to his aid the friends of Mr. Calhoun. I have no faith in the orator's power to effect this object. But there is no telling what a few months may do—a few individuals around the President, present a fruitful source of discontent, even among his best friends.

* * * * *

McLean expected to be nominated by the Convention;⁵⁹ a Letter was received to that effect Ten days since—Clay, it was said, w[oul]d resign, as the Judge presented the strongest front against the General.

* * * * *

Believe [me] truly and ever yours,

MORGAN NEVILLE.

Honbl. General James Findlay,
Washington City.

57. *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 15.

58. So far from modifying his views regarding a protective tariff, Clay stated in a meeting of friends of that policy that "to preserve, maintain, and strengthen the American system, he would defy the South, the President, and the devil". Cf. McMaster, VI, 135.

59. John McLean [1785-1861], after serving as Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio and as Commissioner of the General Land Office, became Postmaster General in 1823 and in that capacity served under Monroe, Adams and Jackson until 1830, when he became Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He received with favor the suggestion that he be the candidate of the Anti-masonic Party, until he learned that Clay would also run against Jackson. He was nominated as candidate for President by the Ohio Legislature in 1835, but later withdrew. He was candidate for the nomination by the Free Soil Party at Buffalo in 1848, and gave an important dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott Case. Cf. Drake, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 587.

XV.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, May 26th., 1832.⁶⁰

Brother James,

Your letter of the 13th informed me that you were gradually recovering from your tedious illness, and I have observed by the published *yeas* and *nays* taken in your House, that you have been able to resume your official duties. I am pleased with the manner you managed my intimation of an appointment to visit West-point.⁶¹ At the time I made the suggestion I did not reflect that the State Legislature would be in session about the period that the visiters are to assemble at the point, or I should not have made it, for if I can leave my business here at the time, I would greatly prefer going to Harrisburg to any other place, where I may expect to meet with several of my children.

It is a great solace to me, to know that my son James acquired a respectable standing in the Legislature at their last session. From the representations of different Gentlemen, not flatterers, of the talents and prudence that he evinced in the body, both of which are essential to political promotion, I am encouraged to hope that he may ultimately rise high in public estimation.

I have hastily perused the Report of Mr. Adams in relation to the Bank of the U[nited] States.⁶² If I had previously entertained a doubt of the impropriety of rechartering the Bank, with its extensive powers and privileges, the report would serve to confirm rather than remove it. I have not leisure to review many of its principles. It is, of itself, an indication of a bad cause, which, in the opinion of its friends, requires such an elaborate effort, as the report manifests, to sustain it. It assumes the position that the House of Representatives, or a Committee of the House, have not the authority to examine the private accounts of persons with the Bank, or who have obtained

60. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 69.

61. An appointment to the Board of Annual Visitors, secured through his brother James.

62. Schurz, *Henry Clay*, I, 374; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 301, 302; Catterall, *The Second United States Bank*.

loans from it, or enquire into their pecuniary standing, or how the payment of debts to it is secured; and that the exercise of such a power is inquisitorial and unwarranted.

Congress have placed *seven millions of dollars* of the people's money in the Bank, reserving the right to examine, by a Committee, at any time, into the affairs of the Institution, which does not imply that the Committee in performing this duty, shall rely solely upon the statements of the President and Directors, of the disposition they may have made of this money. Unless it implies more than this, it would be nugatory and altogether useless for a Committee to repair to the Bank, for the purpose of examining its situation. This reserved power certainly embraces the privilege of ascertaining in whose hands the Bank had placed the money and the manner in which its payment was secured, or it amounts to nothing. No individual would be satisfied with the statement of an agent, merely, to whom he had confided the management of his funds, that he had annually paid him 6 per cent thereon, and the principal was safe; but would proceed further and ask him, the names of the persons to whom his funds were loaned, and the kind of security given for their payment, and unless fully satisfied on these points, he would not renew the authority to his agent. This dictate of common sense, no prudent man would, in his private concerns, allow himself to disregard. Even the most strenuous [*sic*] advocate for rechartering the Bank would not, in his individual capacity, act on any other principle. If therefore this be a correct course of action for an individual, it cannot be a bad one for the whole community, and, in my view, the conduct of the Committee, instead of being inquisitorial, was legitimate and proper.

I should be disposed to question not only the constitutional but the moral power of the government, to place the money of the people in the hands of private persons, or in those of the agents of any corporation, with an authority to either of them, to preclude the government from ascertaining in whose hands they had subsequently placed it, and how its payment was secured, or of enquiring into its being loaned with impure motive and for improper purposes. Yet the simple enquiry by the late bank committee, into such facts, is denounced by the report, as

implicating the rights, the interests, the fortunes, and the reputation of individuals. It is not, at once, obvious to a common mind, how such an enquiry could impair, or violate, any of the rights of a citizen. The debts of individuals to the Government itself, are not veiled in secresy, and if it were even desirable that those due to a corporation, or from one individual to another, should be so veiled, the object could not ultimately be attained, for all debts after they become due, may at the option of creditors, become matters of record, and open to public inspection. I am therefore at a loss to know what cannot be precisely perceived by any refinement of logic, how a debt due to an incorporation, of which the Government is a co-partner and in which [it] has a deep interest, should be deemed more sacred, than one due directly to it, or why the Government should not have the like right to enquire as to the validity of the security given for its payment, without being liable to the charge of committing outrages on the private rights of Citizens.

There are several points in the report of the majority of the Committee, that have not been fully met, or explained, either by Mr. McDuffee or Mr. Adams. Among others that might be noticed, are dealing in Coins, the sale of Stock, the enormous, as well as irregular advances made to brokers, the diminished accommodations to Merchants, whereby the former was afforded an opportunity, if they thought proper to avail themselves of it, *to shave* directly, or by their agents, the notes of the latter. Nor has the extraordinary increase of the expenses of printing for the Bank, within the last few years been satisfactorily accounted for, or the impression removed that a great share of them were advanced for services not openly avowed, and for improper purposes. If this be the fact, it is calculated to create an alarm for the continuance of our free system of Government, and the belief of which is stren[g]thened by witnessing the combined efforts of the Editors of public Journals, that advocate the Bank, to ridicule the Report of the majority of the Committee, as well as some of its members, and particularly the Chairman and Mr. Cambrelling.⁶³ The zeal which these Editors display on the

63. C. C. Cambreleng [1786-1862], Congressman from New York, from 1821 to 1839, and at this time Chairman of the Committee of Commerce. As a member of this committee to investigate the bank he had

occasion affords no evidence that it is the offspring of disinterested patriotism; but on the contrary excites suspicion that they are actuated by other considerations.

Their effort, however, will, I think, prove unavailing with the intelligent part of the community, who have no immediate interest in the Institution, and I have much confidence that those Gentlemen will not be dismayed by their sarcasms, but continue with unrelaxed exertions in the honorable course they have hitherto pursued in the case, and thereby be enabled to prevent the renewal of the charter of the Bank with the vast privileges which it now possesses. If it should be renewed with these, it will be found, when too late to be remedied, exercising powers not to be abridged or corrected by the Government which created it.

I presume, from the state of your health, you were not at the Baltimore Convention.⁶⁴ I have heard the result of their proceedings, and am persuaded, by my knowledge of the state, they will have no influence in Penn[sylvani]a and that she will uphold her own nomination of the 5th of March last.⁶⁵ Any other course would be injurious to the President.

The late personal squabbles at Washington are much to be lamented. They are discreditable to our Country, and the exertions that [they] are using to make them bear on the President may, however, unjustly, effect, in some degree, his popularity. Be this as it may, I have not any doubt of his re-election; but he may not have so large a majority as he before had.

displayed much ability in the questions he propounded to Biddle, the president, many of which the latter was unable to answer to his satisfaction. Many parodying lists were published in the papers of the day as a form of satire on Cambreleng's method. Cf. *Niles Register*, XLII, 313.

64. General James Findlay had been appointed one of the delegates to this convention [see *Torrence Papers*, Box 6, No. 93], which nominated Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. His non-attendance at Baltimore may be regarded as important, in view of his later opposition to Van Buren [Cf. p. 94].

65. The Pennsylvania Democratic Convention met at Harrisburg, on March 5th, nominated George Wolf for Governor, and endorsed Jackson. Van Buren was regarded as the scapegoat for Jackson's unpopularity in Pennsylvania, on account of his position regarding the tariff and the bank; and accordingly he was passed over and William Wilkins was named as Pennsylvania's choice for the second place on the national ticket. Cf. *Report Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1902, Vol. I, p. 445.

Is there any bill before you to which it might be proper to attach a section r[aising] the salaries of the officers of the Mint?⁶⁶ * * * * *

Remember me affectionately to sister.

Your brother,

WM. FINDLAY.

Genl. James Findlay.

XVI.

THOMAS FINLEY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BALTIMORE, 28th Decr., 1832.⁶⁷

Brother James,

I was informed on Change yesterday that it was reported you had "Bolted" on the Tariff question⁶⁸ and a wish expressed to know whether the report was true. To this I could only reply that you had uniformly been in favor of the system of protection, and that I had not learned from yourself or any one else that your opinion on this subject had undergone any change.⁶⁹

Until the law of last session shall have a fair experiment, it would seem to argue a great want of a settled purpose in Congress to get up another system. Nor do I think people ought to be frightened out of the exercise of their sober judgment by the blustering of the Nullifiers.⁷⁰

We are all well, Your Brother,

THO. FINLEY.

Genl. James Findlay,
House of Reps., Washington.

66. With what may be regarded as a Jacksonian characteristic, the writer from the time of assuming control of the Mint, late in 1830, had been exerting himself through his brother James, Col. R. M. Johnson, General Samuel Smith, George B. McDuffie of South Carolina, and others, to obtain an increase in the salaries paid the officials in the Philadelphia Mint. In many cases it seems to have been the just thing to do. Cf. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, Nos. 65, 67, 68.

67. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 37.

68-69. General James Findlay's own sentiment seems to have been that prevalent in Ohio—uniformly in favor of protection. So far as the family as a whole is concerned, it may be classed as in favor of the same policy. His brother John had written him in December, 1830, expressing his belief that Congress should settle the tariff question at once [*Torrence Papers*, Box 8, No. 32]. A year later Thomas Finley wrote him from Baltimore an interesting letter concerning the reduction of the duty on teas and the prospect of reciprocity in trade between France and the United States.

70. As an indication of the sentiment prevalent at Baltimore, Thomas Finley had written ten days before [*Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 36]: "The President's Proclamation is very popular here, all parties approve of it. So far as I know there are no nullifiers in Maryland."

XVII.

JOHN MCLEAN TO JAMES FINDLAY.

WASHINGTON, 7 Feby., 1834.⁷¹

My dear Sir,

Unless I greatly mistake the indications which I see, you will be called on by the people of Ohio to suffer your name to be used as a candidate for Governor. From what I have heard, there can be little or no doubt of your success.

I now write to you for the purpose of asking you not to decide against becoming a candidate. Rely upon it, if you are taken up, you will be carried through triumphantly.⁷² The Jackson party is broken to pieces. With the exception of a very few members, the whole south are now united against the administration,⁷³ and, before the close of the session there will be little or no division of opinion in that great section of the Union.

In Pennsylvania, even McKean says, there is no danger.⁷⁴ The office holders will be thrown into a small minority in that state. In New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland the Regency cannot hope to succeed, nor can they in any of the New England states, with the exception of New Hampshire and Maine, and the latter state will be doubtful.

The Van Buren party, rely upon it, will be found weak when a development of their strength will be called for, and this will be the designation of the official party hereafter.

The Administration is in the minority of twenty in the

71. *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, No. 11.

72. By August, 1834, *Niles Register* [XLVI, 430] noted that General Findlay had been presented as the candidate for governor in opposition to Governor Lucas the nominee of the Jacksonians. An attempt had likewise been made to bring out Joseph Vance of Ohio, but he declined in favor of Findlay. The latter was noted as an "original" friend of Jackson, who had "retired" from the President's support some time before. General Findlay was defeated by a vote of 70,327 to 66,259 [*Niles*, XLVII, 158], and was reported to have lost his own county.

73. The later movement in favor of Hugh L. White would lend some color to this assertion.

74. This statement was based on the alliance between the Antimasons and Whigs [Cf. *Report Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1902, Vol. I, 457 ff].

Senate,⁷⁵ and before the close of the session it will be in a minority in the House of Representatives. Among the members of the House of Representatives, the most astonishing changes have taken place, since the commencement of the session.

Very truly and sincerely yours,

JOHN McLEAN.

Hon. James Findlay,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

XVIII.

JOHN SPEAR SMITH TO THOMAS FINLEY.

BALTIMORE, 3d Sep., 1834.⁷⁶

Dear Sir,

Understanding that your brother has been brought out as a candidate by the friends of Judge McLean,⁷⁷ who as I believe, are generally such of the Jackson party as disapprove of recent acts of the administration, I have thought that you might not be unwilling to submit to him some political views which are occupying the attention of many individuals in various parts of the union. And as they come from one who is placed in nearly the same predicament as your brother, they may be less liable to misconstruction.

The universal impression is that the contemplated national convention, will nominate Mr. Van Buren, and it is thought by many, that it is to be gotten up for that sole purpose. It is probable that he will consequently be elected, indeed, there can be no doubt of it unless all the various fragments of opposition, can be concentrated on one man. Among these fragments, the discontented Jackson men are of essential weight, so great, that without their co-operation, no successful opposition to Mr. Van Buren can prevail. This co-operation, as it seems to me, cannot be obtained in behalf either of Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, or Mr. Calhoun. Judge McLean may get some portion of it, but not a

75. The later resolution of censuring the President and the rejection of the nominations of Taney as Chief Justice and Stevenson as Minister to England partially confirmed this statement. Cf. McMaster, VI, 205, 212.

76. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 41. This is an enclosure in XIX.

77. See note 71.

sufficiency to insure success. I do not dictate on these positions, but will remark that among all well informed men, it is admitted that neither of the above named gentlemen, can at the ensuing election, be chosen. Few Jackson men will abandon their party, or rather its nomination, unless it be to support some man who accords with them in opinion, or the leading measures or principles which brought the President into power. But if a man of high character, undoubted abilities and firmness, belonging to the predominant party, but objecting to the course of the administration, were nominated, then he would bring with him a powerful force, one in fact, that with the aid of regular opposition, would secure victory beyond all doubt. The advantages of such a result would be, that a President so elected, would be the President of the country under the constitution, and not the chief of a party. He would have no factious entanglements to bias his judgment, or divert him from an honorable and a republican discharge of the duties prescribed to him. He would rally around him the virtue, patriotism and talents of the country. He would look to the good of the whole people alone, and to their approbation, instead of the slavish adhesion of a party, for the just reward of a virtuous administration of the government.

I need not say to you that such a candidate may, in my opinion, be found in Louis McLane. He unites all the fine qualities necessary to constitute such a chief magistrate as the times require, to lead the country back to tranquillity, order, respect for the constitution, and to prosperity. Indeed, so highly do I estimate his fine and rare qualities, that I am firmly convinced he would in an administration of four years, give such a noble impulse to public opinion as would be of lasting benefit and duration. Mr. McLane enjoys the confidence and good opinion of all the high-minded men of his party, one-third of which at the least, would give him a zealous support. All who have seceded or who have expressed their discontent, and all who are disgusted with the turmoil of party, or with the appearance if not the reality, of low intrigue, would fly to his standard, as a place of refuge, where their principles would not be compromised.

It is proper to remark, that this opinion of the suitableness of Mr. McLane as a candidate in the present crisis, is not my

own alone. It is becoming a matter of Daily conversation, and is gradually, but quietly pervading the country. Nor is it confined to Jackson men. Many others, whose only wish is to rescue public affairs, from the course into which they have unhappily fallen, concur in it. The people are growing weary of party and its strifes. They see that it is eating into the vitals of the constitution, and blighting the hopes of the patriot.

If it be then desirable to have a change, if it be necessary to wrest our affairs from the influences which are likely to prevail, surely every man should relinquish his personal aspirations and wishes, in furtherance of the general advantage. All should come forward and make a generous sacrifice of predilections, that the country may be benefitted.

How are these views to be accomplished, and how is Mr. McLane to be brought out? It appears to me, that if in some one of the Western States, he were nominated by the disapproving Jackson men, the end would be obtained. The regular opposition would naturally fall into it in that quarter, and it would be followed up immediately on this side of the mountains, as well as in the south. Your brother is brought out in this way, so was Mr. Duncan.⁷⁸ The former will I doubt not succeed, as has the latter. But the Judge, it may be answered, is the candidate of Ohio and may have claims on the support of your brother. Be it so. Is his strength, however, sufficiently great in other quarters to hold out the slightest prospect of success? I am sure it is not. He has lost ground in Penn[sylvani]a, and has gained nothing in any other State. You know that the effort which was made for him here, has been paralyzed and fallen away almost entirely from its first promise. In the south, in the center, in N[ew] Y[ork], and in the east, he is scarcely known, or seriously thought of as a candidate. The fact of his being on the bench, which is deemed by many as constitutionally incompatible with any pretension to political station, is an insuperable objection in the popular sentiment. It is one too, that as an electioneering weapon, will be wielded with great efficacy. But his friends in Ohio will hardly take the same view of the subject, and all perhaps that we have

78. Joseph Duncan was elected Governor of Illinois in August, 1834, by a handsome majority. During the campaign he was attending Congress [Cf. Note 16] and the people at large were not aware of his break with Jackson. Cf. Davidson and Stuvé, *Complete History of Illinois*, 416.

a right to ask of them is, that when they do take it, they will be prepared to follow or adopt the other course, and not to defer it until it be too late.

I take it as an undoubted postulate, that no candidate can beat Mr. Van Buren, if he be nominated by the convention, and of this there is no doubt, unless it be one who is nominated by the great body of seceding Jackson men, and who will carry with him a large portion of his party. Now the man who is most likely to do this, is he who thinks with the seceders, acts with them, who has their entire respect and confidence, and who has openly shown that he is entitled to their good opinion, by his generous and disinterested relinquishment of high office, rather than compromise his principles, by its tenure.

"The party" is strong, as well from habit, as from the distractions of the opposition. It can be but little weakened, or any efficient force taken from it, in one only way, and that is in the mode I have suggested. Such a move would break up the ties which now hold it together, because such a move could not be taxed with inconsistency, and because of its obvious certainty of success, would embolden even the most timid.

As my only object in making this communication to you is, that you may ascertain from your brother how the suggestions contained in it, would be likely to be received in the West, I beg that you will consider it as confidential. And there is the more reason for this, as not knowing Mr. McLane's plans for the future, it would be improper by any publicity, to compromise him, or place him in a false position.

Very respectfully yr. obdt. Svt.

J. SPEAR SMITH.

Thos. Findlay, Esq.

XIX.

THOMAS FINLEY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

(Confidential.)

BALTIMORE, 20th Sept., 1834.⁷⁹

Brother James,

Some weeks since Genl John Spear Smith (son of Gen[era]l Sam[ue]l Smith)⁸⁰ commenced a conversation with me in relation to the next Presidential Election, and seemed particularly desirous to know whether you would support your friend Louis McLane who he supposes might be brought into the field with some hope of success.

79. *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 41.

80. General Samuel Smith [1752-1839] the well-known Maryland politician, who served in the House of Representatives and the Senate from 1793-1833.

In reply, I stated to him that I had not corresponded with you on political subjects and was therefore ignorant of your particular views, but that I knew that you had the most favorable opinion of the talents and lofty character of Louis McLane; but that I considered you as pledged to support John McLean provided he was continued before the people as a candidate. I remarked, however, that if he would address me a letter containing his views of the matter I would transmit it to you—so that the confidential letter which I enclose, altho' addressed to me, is really intended for you. I do not wish you to reply to it until after the election is over in your State; then as you dislike writing yourself you may make a confidential sec[retar]y of Samuel or Alexander to communicate your views.

I have a favorable opinion of Louis, but I confess that I am unable to see how he is to get along. Were he a citizen of New York or Penn[sylvani]a the case could be managed. But as matters stand at present, it seems probable that no one will be elected by the people. For so far I have been a looker on, having taken no part, nor expressed no preference, and have so deported myself that no party has any just ground of complaint.

But contrary to my wish and urgent advice my son James has taken active part in the pending election for City Delegates and has been addressing Ward meetings in opposition to the National administration. The Jackson paper here has noticed this in such a manner as to show that there is a disposition in some to make me responsible for the course of my son, who is past the age of parental restraint. This is neither liberal nor just, but still it may have its influence at Head Quarters, and the more so, as your Anti Van Buren course will probably lessen your influence with the old Chief. Under these circumstances there may be a doubt, even if I were to solicit it, whether my commission would be renewed. What is your opinion of this matter? I think I would rather decline than be refused. The Penn[sylvani]a branch of the family, I believe, adhere to the administration. As our Nephew James⁸¹ is a rising man and likely to have great political influence there may be a disposition to conciliate him, but what his views are as to the succession I do not know. I think it probable, however, that he will go with the old democratic party of the State and how they may go is, I believe, yet uncertain.

* * * * *

THO. FINLEY.

Genl. James Findlay,
Cincinnati.

81. James Findlay, son of William, afterward Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

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For 1906.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

Cincinnati, December 3, 1906.

Mr. President and Members of the Society:

The accessions to the library for the corporate year ending December 2, 1906, exclusive of manuscripts, are 189 volumes and 839 pamphlets by donation, and 127 volumes and 8 pamphlets by purchase, making a total of 316 volumes and 847 pamphlets.

From the income of the Appleton fund there have been purchased 43; from the King fund 64; from the Colonial Dames Society fund 13; and from the General fund 7 volumes and 8 pamphlets.

In the Annual Report, 1903, your former librarian mentioned the fact that the definite number given to the volumes in our collection was in reality only an approximate estimate arrived at by the addition of each yearly accession to the number given the previous year. Owing to the cataloguing and re-arrangement of the books the present librarian is able to reach a more accurate estimate and finds the whole number to be about 21,825. This does not include bound volumes of manuscripts but covers all other bound volumes in the library.

The continuation of the cataloguing of the books in this collection has been the chief labor of the librarian this year as well as of the cataloguer, engaged for this purpose by the Society. It is a pleasure to state that we have catalogued 10785, which number added to the 7267 previously catalogued for us in the University library, makes a total of 18052 volumes now under the modern system of cataloguing. A large proportion of duplicates and a few other books not desirable as a permanent part of a historical collection remain uncatalogued and are placed on reserved shelves to be sold or exchanged hereafter. They number over 3770 and I would suggest that some disposition of them be made at an early date, as they crowd our stacks and require care without benefit to any one.

The King manuscripts have been arranged and are ready for consultation. During the year 93 volumes have been bound.

The Society has received from Mrs. A. W. Whelpley a rare collection of autographs numbering about 500. Included among these are many original drafts of poems, prose writings, speeches, etc., and many letters from eminent men and women. The mention of some of these papers will suffice to show their interesting character.

Original manuscript writings of:—

“Defenders” by T. Buchanan Read; “Queen Esther” by Harriet Beecher Stowe; Preface to “Fudge Doings” by Donald G. Mitchell; Preface to “Sparrowgrass Papers” by F. Cozzens; Magazine article by Alice Carey; Preface to “Idlewild” by N. P. Willis; Dedication to “Hidden Path” by Marion Harland; Response by General W. T. Sherman “Our Sister Societies of the Armies East and West”, etc.

Original manuscript poems of:

J. G. Whittier, J. R. Lowell, W. P. Brannan (Van Dyke Brown), W. D. Gallagher, T. B. Aldrich, Fitz James O’Brien, Lucy Larcom, etc.

Manuscript letters of:

Ruskin, Rembrandt Peale, Bierstadt, Dickens, Mendelsohn, Agassiz, Longfellow, Wendell Phillips, Jacob Burnet, John Mitchell (celebrated letter to Archbishop Hughes), Edwin Forrest, James Monroe, Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, W. H. Harrison, Pierce, Jackson, Clay, Lincoln, Garfield, Hayes (letter relating to contest between Lincoln and Douglas, 1859, and in reference to an address which Lincoln was to deliver in Cincinnati), and letter of McKinley, etc.

A paper bearing date Steubenville, Jefferson County, Ind., Dec. 17, 1798, addressed to the speaker of the House of Representatives, Northwest Territory, Cincinnati, requesting that the name of Colonel David Vance, the present representative for Jefferson county, be placed among the ten that are to be forwarded to Congress as candidates for the Legislative Council. Signed, Francis Douglas, Sheriff.

A quaint old paper, dated Jan. 17, 1705-6, written by William Titcomb to Lieut. Col. Thomas Noyes.

The appointment of John Howard of the parish of Christ Church, London, as a stamper of Vellum, Parchment, etc., printed on parchment and dated the 24th day of January, 1761.

The gift from Mrs. Whelpley which will be most valued by the Society is the autograph copy of the Amnesty Proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln, Dec. 8, 1863. The accompanying letter of Senator John Sherman gives an interesting account of his interview with Mr. Lincoln when he obtained this historical document for exhibition and sale at the Great Western Sanitary Fair held in Cincinnati in 1863.

An addition to the library of 6 manuscript volumes and various letters, accounts, and other papers, has been received from Mr. Davis L. James. Three of these volumes contain an unbroken record of the meetings of the members of the Western Academy of Natural Sciences

of Cincinnati, from April 25, 1835 (date of its organization) to April 24, 1854; Vol. 4 covers the Treasurer's report for years 1860-71; and the two remaining volumes are catalogues of the books owned by that society.

Mrs. C. W. Baker has continued her valuable work of gathering early data pertaining to this locality and has added two manuscript volumes to the six heretofore given the Society by her. They contain tombstone inscriptions found in Fulton, North Bend, South Lebanon, graveyards and the graveyards of the Columbia Baptist church, Deer Creek Baptist church, Pleasant Ridge Presbyterian church and the Wesleyan (Cumminsville), accompanied by descriptions of these different churches and many facts concerning early settlers in their localities.

The following additions to the Cabinet have been made during the year:

A fac-simile of the Autographs of the Officers of State, Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, 1860-61. The interesting fact is noted by the donor that among its members were one who became President of the United States; one, Governor of Ohio; one, Justice of the Supreme Court; two, Cabinet Officers; eighteen, Generals and Colonels; one, U. S. Senator; and fourteen, Members of Congress. Given by Gen. B. R. Cowen.

An attractive oil painting of the old Deer Creek Baptist church—the handiwork of the donor, Mr. J. L. Niles.

A design of the prisons of Salisbury, N. C., and Charleston, S. C., with the signatures of the officers who were in Salisbury prison, Dec., 1861. Three of these were Cincinnati men. Given by Mrs. Catherine E. Bense (widow of Major James Bense of 6th O. V. I.)

Two books containing a collection of photographs of former residents of Cincinnati, photographed by Hoag & Quick. Purchased and given by eight members of the Society: Messrs. C. T. Greve, J. W. Bullock, F. J. Jones, W. A. DeCamp, F. B. Wiborg, J. R. Callahan, and H. M. Levy.

Six framed photographs by Hoag & Quick. Given by Mr. Joseph Wilby.

A photograph of 62 Longworth street in 1883. Given by Mr. G. C. James.

A view of the upper portion of the Ohio river. Given by Mrs. G. B. Parkinson.

A collection of 150 envelopes used during the Rebellion in 1860-1. Given by Mr. Joseph Wilby.

One stock certificate of the old Marietta & Cincinnati Railroad Company, 1870. Given by Mr. J. V. B. Scarborough.

Old-fashioned box in the form of a small trunk, formerly belonging to Judge H. C. Whitman, used for holding private papers. Given by the Ezekiel & Bernheim Co.

L. BELLE HAMLIN,
Librarian.

DONORS TO THE LIBRARY.

	Vols.	Pam.
Academy of History and Antiquities.....		6
American Jewish Historical Association	2	
Berlin Stadt Handels-Hochschule in Cöln		1
Boston City Hospital.....	1	
Boston City Register Department	3	
Bunker Hill Monument Association.....	1	
Chicago City Statistician.....	1	
Cincinnati—		
Art Association.....		1
Chamber of Commerce	1	
City Auditor.....	1	
Children's Home.....		1
Law School.....		3
Medical College of Ohio		1
Museum		12
Ohio Mechanics Institute		1
Orchestra Association		12
Public Library.....		8
University of Cincinnati.....		53
Water Works Commission		1
Colorado College.....	2	2
Colorado Historical Society	1	1
Colorado Scientific Society.....	3	
Essex Institute	1	
Indiana University	1	
Illinois State Historical Society.....	1	
Institutio Geológico de Mexico.....	4	
Iowa State Historical Society	17	
Kansas State Historical Society.....	1	
Lake Mohonk Conference.....		2
Louisiana Historical Society.....		1
Massachusetts Historical Society.....	2	
Medford Historical Society		4
Military Order of the Loyal Legion, U. S.—		
California		18
Iowa.....		10
Michigan		3
Minnesota		20
New York		62
Wisconsin		15

	Vols.	Pam.
Milwaukee Public Museum.....	2	
Minnesota Historical Society	3	1
Missouri Historical Society	2	1
Missouri State Historical Society		1
Newberry Library		2
New Hampshire Historical Society.....		1
New Haven Colony Historical Society		1
New Jersey Historical Society	1	
New York Charity Organization Society.....		1
New York Institute for the Deaf and Dumb.....		1
New York Public Library.....		12
North Carolina Agricultural Experimental Station.....		1
North Dakota State Historical Society		1
Oberlin College		1
Ohio—		
Agricultural Experimental Station.....	1	
Board of State Charities.....		3
Diocese of Southern Ohio.....	1	
State Archaeological and Historical Society.....		3
Ohio Society of New York	1	
Pennsylvania Prison Society		1
Rhode Island Historical Society	8	
Royal Society of Canada	1	
St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.....		1
Syracuse Public Library.....		1
Texas State Historical Society.....	1	
United States—		
Bureau of American Ethnology.....	3	1
Bureau of Education.....	1	1
Bureau of U. S. Forestry (Philippines)	2	
Coast and Geodetic Survey.....	1	
Department of Commerce and Labor.....	14	15
Department of the Navy.....	1	
Department of the Interior	2	
Department of State.....	1	1
Department of War.....	10	63
Interstate Commerce.....		35
Library of Congress.....	3	3
Smithsonian Institution	4	1
Government Printing Office	4	
Université de Toulouse		10
University of California.....		1
University of Toronto.....	1	1
William's Directory Co. (Cincinnati).....	1	
Wisconsin Natural Historical Society		1
Wisconsin State Historical Society.....	2	

	Vols.	Pam.
Worcester Public Library.....		3
Yale University.....	2	2
Anderson, Mrs. E. M.....		1
Anonymous.....		7
Ayres, D. C.....		1
Carnegie, Andrew		1
Conroy, A. J.....	2	
Davies, Junius.....		1
Ezekiel & Bernheim Co	3	
Fairchild, Mrs. Charles S	2	
Ferrier, Francis		1
Glover, E. W		5
Halloway, F. O	1	
Hartmann, Mrs. P. H.....	2	31
James, G. C		1
Jones, W. St. J		248
Keys, Miss M. E.....	2	
Orton, Edward	1	
Peaslee, J. B.....	1	
Perkins, W. H	1	
Smith, M. P. W.....	1	
Strickler, W. M.....	1	
Thayer, G. A.Old newspapers,	2	1
Valerio Alfrido		1
Vatterh, K.....		6

MEMBERS.

	Vols.	Pam.
Anderson, L. N.....	1	12
Baker, Mrs. C. B.....1 newspaper,	4	2
Bliss, E. F.....	25	52
Bullock, J. W.....	1	
Chatfield, A. H	10	14
Cowen, B. R.....	1	
Dabney, C. W		1
Green, S. A.....	6	9
Goepper, E.....		1
Hamlin, L. B.....	5	9
James, D. L		13
Parkinson, Mrs. G. B.....		12
Wilby, J	1	

PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

During the year that closes today there have been several events in the life of your Society worthy of mention.

Miss Jane C. Neave has three times expressed her interest in the Society by substantial gifts. At the last annual meeting your President reported a gift from her of one hundred dollars to the E. H. Appleton Fund. In June she gave us one thousand dollars, toward a new fund, to be called "The Halsted Neave Endowment Fund", in memory of her brother; and again in October she sent us another thousand dollars for the same fund.

For its growth from small beginnings to its present condition, your Society owes a large sense of obligation to the generous support of such friends as Miss Neave.

At the last annual meeting Mrs. T. L. A. Greve found it necessary, on account of continued absence from the city, to decline reelection as Curator. Mrs. Greve had served the Society long and faithfully; her interest in our work was much appreciated, and her withdrawal from the Board much regretted.

In March the Board adopted a set of rules governing the use of the Society's books, pamphlets and manuscripts.

Your President suggests that these rules, which are spread upon our minutes, be printed with our Constitution and By-laws.

Mr. Erasmus Gest, for many years one of our life members, presented to your Society last April approximately six hundred books, which form a valuable addition to our library. The book plate of the Society has been placed in each volume of this gift of Mr. Gest's, but by arrangement between him and your President they are permitted to remain in the library of Mr. Gest's house, back of Newport, Kentucky, covered by insurance in the name of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. It seemed best not to go to the expense of moving these books to our present quarters in the Van Wormer Library Building. Upon our return down town, as we hope to before many years, these books would have to be moved again.

Probably the most important work that has recently been accomplished, has been the cataloguing of the books in our library, by our

Librarian, Miss Hamlin, and a special cataloguer, who has been engaged for over seven months. Fuller reference to this work is contained in the Librarian's report.

There was begun during the year a quarterly publication of original historical matter from our library and collections, the selection and publication of which was left to a committee of your Board. The first publication was "The Personal Narrative of William Lytle". The second was "Letters of Hiram Powers to Nicholas Longworth, Esq., 1856-1858".

At the request of the Massachusetts Historical Society, your President, by direction of the Board, cooperated with other Historical Societies, by addressing our Senators and Representatives at Washington, in bringing about action by Congress which has resulted in preserving the frigate Constitution.

Between last Christmas and New Year's Day, your President attended the meeting of the American Historical Association at Baltimore, Md.

Our agreement with the Board of Directors of the University of Cincinnati, under which we now occupy part of the Van Wormer Library Building, was made November 8, 1899; and by its terms is to continue in force until the 31st day of December, 1909, and thereafter until terminated by notice given by either party to the other. That notice must be in writing, and given one year before the date therein specified for such termination. Our agreement to remain in our present quarters, therefore, may be said to expire in three years. I referred to the shortness of the balance of our term in my last report. I again refer to it, not only to remind you that notice to terminate our ten year tenancy here must be given two years from now, but also to furnish this opportunity of expressing again my conviction, which grows from year to year, and is shared, I am sure, by all members of your Society who attend the monthly meetings of its Board, that the interests of this Society require a removal to some location in the city more accessible and convenient not only for the meetings of the Board, but for use by members of the Society and the public. I believe that move should be made as soon as our contract with the University will permit it.

I also believe that the means will be forthcoming to make that move possible. It behooves all of us, however, to bear in mind and plan for that removal.

JOSEPH WILBY,

President.

December 3, 1906.

ACCOUNTANTS' REPORT.

CINCINNATI, November 30, 1906.

*To the President and Members
of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.*

In accordance with instructions, examination has been made of the books and accounts of THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO for the year ended November 30, 1906, and we beg to report as follows:

We submit as a part of this report the following schedules:

SCHEDULE "A"—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at date of closing, November 30, 1906.

SCHEDULE "B"—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for year ended November 30, 1906.

These schedules are supported by the following exhibits:—

Exhibit "1"—Statement of Investments and Savings Deposits.

Exhibit "2"—General Fund.

Exhibit "3"—Building Fund.

Exhibit "3"—Endowment Fund.

Exhibit "4"—Life Membership Fund.

Exhibit "4"—Julius Dexter Publication Fund.

Exhibit "5"—Elizabeth H. Appleton Memorial Fund.

Exhibit "5"—Margaret Rives King Fund.

Exhibit "6"—Colonial Dames Fund.

Exhibit "6"—Binding Fund.

Receipts and Disbursements have been audited and found correct.

Cash account has been reconciled and securities as shown duly examined and found on hand as represented.

The Statement of Assets and Liabilities as shown, in our opinion, represents the true financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30, 1906.

Respectfully submitted,

GUY H. KENNEDY,

Public Accountant and Auditor.

(Schedule "A")

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES.

December 1, 1906.

Assets.

Cash in Bank	\$1,363.44	
Cash in hands of Librarian	14.19	
		\$ 1,377.63
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., (Interest on deposits)		4.65
Investments and Savings Deposits		19,104.42
Fee of 108 West Eighth street.....		29,000.00
E. H. Appleton, Income account (Debit balance).	2.79	
Halsted Neave, Income account (Debit balance).	1.97	
		4.76
	<i>Total,</i>	<u><u>\$49,491.46</u></u>

Liabilities.

General Fund,	Investment Account,	\$ 716.25
Building Fund,	Principal "	16,657.64
Endowment Fund,	" "	12,320.00
Life Membership Fund,	Investment "	5,037.13
Julius Dexter Publication Fund,	" "	850.00
Julius Dexter Publication Fund,	Income "	125.64
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund,	Investment "	4,045.90
Halsted Neave,	Principal "	1,000.00
" "	Investment "	1,000.00
Margaret Rives King Fund,	" "	6,545.00
Margaret Rives King Fund,	Income "	224.99
Colonial Dames Fund,	Investment "	200.00
" " "	Income "	20.05
Binding Fund,	Income "	38.72
" "	Investment "	710.14
	<i>Total,</i>	<u><u>\$49,491.46</u></u>

(Schedule "B")

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

For Year Ended November 30, 1906.

Dec. 1, 1905, Balance in Bank	\$ 421.81	
In hands of Librarian	15.69	\$ 437.50

Receipts.

Membership Dues, 1903.....	\$ 10.00	
" " 1904.....	30.00	
" " 1905.....	80.00	
" " 1906.....	630.00	750.00

INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:

General Fund.....	\$ 30.00	
Life Membership Fund.....	268.50	
Dexter Publication Fund.....	36.00	
E. H. Appleton, Memorial Fund....	190.50	
Margaret Rives King Fund	264.00	
Colonial Dames Fund.....	12.00	
Binding Fund	30.00	831.00

DONATIONS:

To Endowment Fund.....	\$ 20.00	
To E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.	100.00	
To Binding Fund.....	25.00	145.00

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS:

Jos. Wilby.....	\$ 100.00	
J. W. Bullock.....	100.00	200.00
M. M. Robertson—Building Fund In- come from rent to Oct. 1, 1906.....		800.00
Halsted Neave.....		2,000.00

<i>Total Receipts,</i>	4,726.00
<i>To be accounted for,</i>	<u>\$5,163.50</u>

Disbursements.

Books bought—General Fund.....	\$ 170.05
General Expenses	138.96
Stationery	14.80
Printing.....	36.00
Card Catalogue Expense.....	467.70
Postage.....	25.31
Insurance	97.50
Salaries — Librarian and “Janitor, Heat and Light”	1,050.00

INVESTMENTS:

From Life	
Membership Fund ..\$	289.00
From E. H. Appleton	
Memorial Fund	144.50
From Halsted	
Neave Fund.....	1,000.00
	<u>1,433.50</u>
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund, ac- count Purchases and Expenses.....	150.42
Halsted Neave Fund, account Pur- chases and Expenses.....	1.97
Margaret Rives King Fund, account Purchases and Expenses.....	115.66
Colonial Dames Fund, account Pur- chases and Expenses	11.40
Binding Fund, account Purchases and Expenses.....	72.60

Total Disbursements, 3,785.87

Cash in hand of Librarian.....	14.19		
Cash in Bank.....	<u>\$1,363.44</u>	<u>\$1,377.63</u>	<u>\$5,163.50</u>

(Exhibit "1")

INVESTMENTS AND DEPOSITS.

December 1, 1906.

GENERAL FUND:	Investments.	Deposits.	Total.
10 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost)	\$ 716.25		\$ 716.25
LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:			
83 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost)	4,425.75		
Part interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Rwy. Co. 4½ per cent bonds (cost)....	314.38		
4 shares Cincinnati St. Rwy. Co. (cost).....	289.00		5,029.13
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. (deposit 3 per cent).....		8.00	8.00
JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:			
12 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost).....	834.00		834.00
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. (deposit 3 per cent).....		16.00	16.00
E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:			
\$3,000 C. H. & D. Rwy. Co. 4½ per cent bonds (cost).....	2,882.50		
15 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost)	822.00		
Part interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Rwy. Co. 4½ bonds (cost).....	314.37		4,018.87
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. (deposit 3 per cent)		27.03	27.03
HALSTED NEAVE FUND:			
\$1,000 Gold Bond, C. L. & N. Rwy. Co. (cost).....	1,000.00		1,000.00
MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:			
\$4,000 C. H. & D. Rwy. Co. 4½ per cent bonds (cost).....	4,512.50		
7 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co.	481.25		
Part interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Rwy. Co. 4½ bonds (cost)	1,551.25		6,545.00
COLONIAL DAMES FUND:			
4 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost).....	200.00		200.00
BINDING FUND:			
10 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost)	680.63		680.63
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. (deposit 3 per cent)		29.51	29.51
Totals,	\$19,023.88	\$80.54	\$19,104.42

(Exhibit "2")

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Dues 1903	\$ 10.00	
" 1904	30.00	
" 1905	80.00	
" 1906	640.00	\$ 760.00
Cincinnati Street Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	30.00	
Transfer from Life Membership Fund—In- come Account.....	180.04	
Interest on Endowment Fund Loaned to Build- ing Fund, Transferred from Endowment Fund.....	615.00	\$1,585.04

DISBURSEMENTS AND TRANSFERS:

Books Bought.....	170.05	
General Expenses.....	138.96	
Stationery	14.80	
Printing	36.00	
Card Catalogue Expense	467.70	
Postage.....	25.31	
Insurance	97.50	
Salaries—Librarian and Janitor.....	1,050.00	
Dues—Librarian	10.00	2,010.32
Excess Disbursements and Transfers,		425.28
Dec. 1, 1906—Balance transferred to Building Fund, Income Account.....		425.28

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Dec. 1, 1906—Balance invested as per Balance Sheet.	716.25
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(Exhibit "3")

BUILDING FUND.

Income Account.

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

M. M. Robertson, rent to October 1, 1906.....	800.00	
Deficiency for year 1906 transferred to Principal Account	1,042.36	1,842.36

DISBURSEMENTS AND TRANSFERS:

Deficiency to Dec. 1, 1905.....	802.08	
Interest to Endowment Fund.....	615.00	
Deficiency General Fund transferred to Building Fund	425.28	1,842.36

Principal Account.

Fee of 107 West Eighth Street	29,000.00	
Premium paid by M. M. Robertson for lease of above	1,000.00	30,000.00

DEDUCT:

Loan from Endowment Fund	12,300.00	
Deficiency from Income account for year 1906.	1,042.36	13,342.36
Dec. 1, 1906, Credit balance as per balance sheet..		16,657.64

(Exhibit "3")

ENDOWMENT FUND.

Income Account.

RECEIPTS:

Interest 5 per cent on \$9,300.00 Loan to Building Fund.....	465.00	
Interest 5 per cent on \$3,000.00 Loan to Building Fund.....	150.00	615.00

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transfer to General Fund.....		615.00
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Principal Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Credit balance.....	12,300.00	
May 8, 1906, K. D. Hinkle, Cash donation	20.00	
Dec. 1, 1906, Credit balance as per balance sheet..		\$12,320.00

(Exhibit "4")

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

Income Account.

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co., dividends.....	\$ 255.00	
C. & O. Rwy. Bond interest	13.50	
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., interest54	
Life Memberships	200.00	\$ 469.04

DISBURSEMENTS:

Investments—4 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost).....	289.00	
Balance transferred to General Fund.....	180.04	469.04

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, balance invested	4,748.13	
Purchases—4 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost)	289.00	
Dec. 1, 1906, credit balance as per balance sheet		5,037.13

(Exhibit "4")

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND.

Income Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, credit balance	\$ 88.56	
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co., divi- dends	\$36.00	
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., interest.....	1.08	37.08
December 1, 1906, credit balance as per balance sheet.....		\$ 125.64

Investment Account.

December 1, 1906, balance invested as per balance sheet.....	850.00
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(Exhibit "5")

ELIZABETH H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND.

Income Account.

RECEIPTS:

J. C. Neave, donation	\$ 100.00	
Cincinnati Street Ry. Co., dividends.....	42.00	
C. H. & D. Ry. Co., bond interest	135.00	
C. & O. Ry. Co., bond interest.....	13.50	
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., interest	1.63	\$ 292.13

DISBURSEMENTS:

Books purchased	150.42	
Cincinnati Street Ry. Co. stock, investment.....	144.50	294.92
Dec. 1, 1906, Excess Disbursements as per balance sheet		2.79

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Balance invested	3,901.40	
Purchases, 25 shares Cincinnati Street Ry. Co. (cost).....	144.50	
Dec. 1, 1905, Total as per balance sheet		4,045.90

(Exhibit "5")

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND.

Income Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Credit balance.....	\$ 76.65
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RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Ry. Co., dividends	\$ 21.00	
C. H. & D. Ry. Co., bond interest.....	180.00	
C. & O. Ry. Co., bond interest.....	63.00	264.00
		340.65

DISBURSEMENTS:

Books purchased	115.66
Dec. 1, 1906, Credit balance, as per balance sheet....	224.99

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1906, Balance invested, as per balance sheet,	6,545.00
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(Exhibit "6")

COLONIAL DAMES FUND.

Income Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Credit balance	\$19.45	
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co., dividends	12.00	
	<u>31.45</u>	
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Books purchased	11.40	
Dec. 1, 1906, Credit balance, as per balance sheet.....		<u>20.05</u>

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1906, Balance invested as per balance sheet.....	<u>200.00</u>
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(Exhibit "6")

BINDING FUND.

Income Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Credit balance.....	\$ 54.92	
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati Street Rwy., dividends	\$30.00	
E. F. Bliss, donation	25.00	
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., interest.....	1.40	56.40
		<u>111.32</u>
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Binding Expenses.....		<u>72.60</u>
Dec. 1, 1906, Credit balance, as per balance sheet.....		<u>38.72</u>

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1906, Balance invested, as per balance sheet.....	<u>710.14</u>
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CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Alms, William H.	Holmes, John R.
Anderson, Davis C.	Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	Ingalls, M. E.
Ault, L. A.	James, Davis L.
Baker, Mrs. Charles W.	Kittredge, Edmund W.
Baker, Miss Phebe S.	Koch, Felix J.
Balke, Rudolph F.	Laws, Miss Annie
Battelle, John G.	Leaman, Mrs. Robert F.
Brunswick, B. H.	Levy, Harry M.
Burnam, John M.	Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Caldwell, Charles E.	Ludlow, William S.
Callahan, John R.	McDonald, Alexander
Carew, Joseph T.	Miller, Griffin T.
Cist, Charles M.	Parkinson, George Bowen
Compton, William C.	Pendleton, Elliott H.
Cowen, Benjamin R.	Procter, William Cooper
Dabney, Charles W.	Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.	Ransohoff, Joseph
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman	Schmidlapp, J. G.
DeCamp, Walter A.	Shillito, Stewart
Duhme, Charles H.	Storer, Bellamy
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.	Strobridge, Nelson W.
Felter, Harvey W.	Sykes, Gerrit S.
Foley, B. W.	Taft, Charles W.
Foster, Miss Anna H.	Taylor, William W.
Foster, Wm. Lytle	Voorheis, Albert B.
Forcheimer, Mrs. Frederick	Whitcomb, Merrick
Freiberg, Maurice J.	Wiborg, Frank B.
Gano, Mrs. John A.	Wiborg, Mrs. Frank B.
Goepper, Edward	Wilson, Obed J.
Greve, Charles Theodore	Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Greve, Mrs. T. L. A.	Winslow, Howard S.
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle	Winslow, John F.
Harry, J. E.	Worthington, Edward
Hollister, Howard C.	Worthington, William
Holmes, D. H. J.	Wulsin, Lucien

LIFE MEMBERS.

Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.	Jones, Frank J.
Bliss, Eugene F.	Jones, Mrs. Frank J.
Bullock, James W.	Livingood, Charles J.
Chatfield, Albert H.	Neave, Miss Alice
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.	Neave, Miss Jane Caldwell
Davis, Nathaniel Henschman	Procter, Harley T.
Davis, William Henry	Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Fleischmann, Julius	Thomson, Peter G.
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.	Vail, Henry H.
Gest, Erasmus	Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Gibson, Mrs. William	Wilby, Joseph
Hurd, E. O.	Woods, Harry F.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Adams, Charles Francis	Heath, William Mck.
Duro, Cesario	Hoyt, Albert H.
Foulke, William Dudley	Thwaites, Reuben Gold
Galbreath, Charles W.	Tyson, Philip T.
Green, Samuel A.	Warder, Reuben H.
Hayes, E. G.	

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Durrett, Reuben T.	Venable, William H.
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AN ACT to incorporate the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio:

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio,* That Benjamin Taffan, John C. Wright, and Dr. John Andrews, of Steubenville; Arius Nye, and Dr. S. H. Hildreth, of Marietta; Appleton Downer, Dr. T. Flanner, and E. Buckingham, of Zanesville; Thomas James, B. G. Leonard, and James T. Worthington, of Chilli-cothe; Gustavus Swan, John M. Edmiston, Alfred Kelley, and Dr. — Platt, of Columbus; Joseph Sullivant, of Franklinton; Dr. — Cooper, of Newark; R. H. Bishop, Thomas Kelley, and James McBride, of Butler county; Dr. — Cobb, Dr. — Slack, N. Longworth, John P. Foote, and Timothy Flint, of Cincinnati; John Sloane, of Wayne county; Jared P. Kirtland, of Trumbull [county]; Samuel Wheeler, of Geauga county; Ebenezer Lane, of Huron county; and William Wall, of Athens; and such other persons as may from time to time, become members, shall be, and are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic, by the name of THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO: and by that name they shall have perpetual succession; and shall be capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto, defending and being defended, in all courts and places whatsoever; and may have a common seal with power to change or alter the same, from time to time; and shall be capable of purchasing, taking, holding, and enjoying, to them and their successors, any real estate, in fee simple or otherwise, and any goods, chattels, and personal estate, and of selling, leasing, or otherwise disposing of the said real and personal estate, or any part thereof, at their will and pleasure: *Provided always,* That the clear annual value or income of such real and personal estate, shall not exceed the sum of ten thousand dollars: *Provided, however,* That the funds of the said corporation shall not be used and appropriated to the purpose of banking.

SEC. 2. That the said society shall, from time to time, forever hereafter, have power to make, constitute, ordain, and establish such by-laws and regulations, as they shall judge proper for the election of their officers; for prescribing their respective functions, and the mode of discharging the same; for the admission of new members; for the

government of the officers and members thereof; for collecting annual contributions from the members, towards the funds thereof; for regulating the time and place of meeting of the said society; for suspending or expelling such members as shall neglect or refuse to comply with the by-laws or regulations; and for the managing and directing the affairs and concerns of the said society, *Provided*, Such by-laws and regulations be not repugnant to the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

SEC. 3. That the officers of said society shall consist of a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary, a treasurer, and five curates [curators], and such other officers as the society may judge necessary, who shall be annually chosen, and who shall continue in office for one year, or until others shall be elected in their stead: that if the annual election shall not be held at any of the days for that purpose appointed, it shall be lawful to make such election at any other day; and that five members of the said society, assembling at the place and time designated for that purpose by any by-laws or resolutions of the society, shall constitute a legal meeting thereof.

SEC. 4. That any five of the persons named in the first section of this act, shall have power to call a meeting of said society for the election of their officers, and the transaction of such other business as may be necessary and proper, to carry into effect the design and objects of said corporation, by giving two month's notice in some newspaper printed at Columbus, of the time of such meeting: such meeting to be holden at Columbus.

JAMES M. BELL,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SAMUEL R. MILLER,

Speaker of the Senate.

February 11, 1831.

29 Ohio Local Laws, 122.

Quarterly Publication of the His-
torical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio

Vol. II, 1907, No. 1
JANUARY-MARCH

Selections from the Torrence Papers, II.

Arranged and Edited by

ISAAC JOSLIN COX,

Assistant Professor of History, University of Cincinnati.

PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM
CINCINNATI, OHIO

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Committee in Charge of Publication.

Charles T. Greve.

Merrick Whitcomb

CONTENTS.

- I. 1823, Feb. 12, JOHN MCLEAN to GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- II. 1823, Mar. 3, THOMAS H. WILLIAMS to JAMES FINDLAY.
- III. 1825, Dec. 20, GEORGE P. TORRENCE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- IV. 1825, Dec. 27, JAMES MILLER to JAMES FINDLAY.
- V. 1826, Feb. 16, GEORGE P. TORRENCE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- VI. 1826, Apr. 9, GEORGE P. TORRENCE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- VII. 1826, Apr. 9, GEORGE P. TORRENCE to MRS. JANE FINDLAY.
- VIII. 1829, Jan. 31, MORGAN NEVILLE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- IX. 1829, Feb. 23, ANDREW METCALF to JAMES FINDLAY.
- X. 1829, Mar. 2, ISAAC MILLS to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XI. 1829, Nov. 23, AMBROSE WHITLOCK to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XII. 1829, Dec. 3, R. H. MILLER to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XIII. 1829, Dec. 27, GEORGE P. TORRENCE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XIV. 1830, Jan. 4, SAMUEL NEWELL to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XV. 1830, Feb. 17, MORGAN NEVILLE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XVI. 1830, Feb. 25, JESSE MORGAN to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XVII. 1830, Mar. 25, ARTHUR ST. CLAIR to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XVIII. 1830, Apr. 11, GEORGE P. TORRENCE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XIX. 1830, Apr. 29, MORGAN NEVILLE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XX. 1830, May 22, MORGAN NEVILLE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXI. 1830, May 24, MORGAN NEVILLE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXII. 1830, Dec. 8, MORGAN NEVILLE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXIII. 1830, Dec. 25, JOHN FINDLAY to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXIV. 1830, Dec. 28, WILLIAM FINDLAY to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXV. 1831, Jan. 10, MORGAN NEVILLE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXVI. 1831, Jan. 11, MORGAN NEVILLE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXVII. 1831, Dec. 20, THOMAS FINLEY to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXVIII. 1832, Jan. 25, GEORGE P. TORRENCE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXIX. 1832, Apr. 21, WILLIAM FINDLAY to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXX. 1832, Apr. 24, SHERLOCK S. GREGORY to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXXI. 1832, Apr. 24, MORGAN NEVILLE to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXXII. 1832, Apr. 26, WILLIAM FINDLAY to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXXIII. 1832, Apr. 30, WILLIAM FINDLAY to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXXIV. 1832, Dec. 3, THOMAS FINLEY to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXXV. 1832, Dec. 3, JOHN FINDLAY to JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXXVI. 1832, Dec. 18, THOMAS FINLEY to JAMES FINDLAY.

Selections From the Torrence Papers, II.

OFFICE HOLDING UNDER JACKSON, AS ILLUSTRATED
BY THE FINDLAY LETTERS.

FOREWORD.

THE following selections from the *Torrence Papers* are of the same general character as those that appeared in Volume I, No. 3, of this *Quarterly*. Yet, as matters connected with office holding constitute the burden of the greater part of the letters, it has seemed best to emphasize this fact in the sub-title. In editing the material, the same methods have been employed as in the former number, but in most cases the formal endings and subscriptions of the letters have been omitted, with a view to economize space. In all cases where this has been done, at least one example of the mode in which a given writer ends a letter has been presented, either in this or in the previous number.

Many features of Jacksonian politics are petty, sordid, and lacking in general interest. This is particularly true of the so-called "spoils system," as the following letters only too clearly reveal. Yet they likewise show that some of the characteristics of the system were already in operation before Jackson was elevated to the presidency.

In the editor's estimation, the letters serve another important purpose, in that they give a more vivid effect to a national movement by concrete local examples. In fact, this purpose is twofold in character; national politics is made more real, and local names and events are rescued from oblivion. While it may be suggested that many of the latter would better remain forgotten, this suggestion will never appeal to one influenced by the true historical spirit. Only by carefully preserving and publishing these records of the past can the true significance of such a period as the Jacksonian Era be clearly appreciated. This fact alone justifies such an attempt as the present publication.

A casual examination of the contents of this number will suggest two separate lines of thought that suffice to impart a certain unity to what would otherwise be a mere heterogeneous collection of rather uninteresting letters. One consists of comments upon national candidates and legislation, generally phrased in the brief but eminently sane words of Judge George P. Torrence, although a letter of some interest from Judge John McLean opens the series. The other offers

a near and clear, if not attractive, view of the spoils system in practical operation, and of this system Morgan Neville is the most frequent and persistent representative, but is by no means singular in his course of action.

It may be fitting to add a word concerning these two men. Judge George Paull Torrence seems to have been favored with a wide circle of friends, who were charmed by his graceful dignity and imposing appearance. Although not a great lawyer, he was twice president judge of the circuit in which Hamilton County was situated, and his decisions were distinguished by their common sense, if not for legal acumen. His written words show an intelligent grasp of questions of wide statemanship and a desire to see them solved in a thoroughly national manner.

With our present information of Morgan Neville, his character remains an enigma. His uncle, John Neville, was the Collector of Internal Revenue for the Western District of Pennsylvania, and suffered severely at the hands of the mob during the "Whiskey Insurrection" of 1794. Both John Neville and his brother, Presley (father of Morgan), were extensive landowners in Clermont County. Morgan Neville himself had something of a newspaper experience in Pittsburg, and, about 1824, came to Cincinnati, where he added to his literary reputation. Here he became secretary of the Ohio Insurance Company, and, on two separate occasions, essayed the role of editor of the *Commercial Register*, a Jacksonian daily, that speedily failed on both occasions. His most serious literary attempt was the publication of "Mike Fink, the Last of the Boatmen." He appeared to have influential friends, such as Mr. Calhoun, Generals Cass and Findlay, Colonel Johnston, Henry Baldwin; and his letters show that he was ready to make extensive use of them. Yet his failure to obtain the offices he sought leads one to the conclusion that he greatly overrated himself and his services.

The editor wishes to correct an error in the first number of the *Selections*: William Findlay served as Treasurer of the Mint at Philadelphia, not as director. He desires also to make amends for inadvertently omitting to state in that number that the cataloguing and arranging of the *Torrence Papers*, in their present form, was due to the labor and interest of Mr. Eugene F. Bliss, and that the same gentleman was instrumental in securing the papers from the Mr. Aaron Torrence. The work of Mr. Bliss has been of material assistance to the present editor in his task. I also desire to acknowledge the cordial co-operation of Miss Hamlin.

I. J. C.

I.

JOHN MCLEAN TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

WASHINGTON CITY, 12 Feby, 1823.¹

Dear Sir,

I received your letter in behalf of your brother, and have written to the Secretary of War on the subject. Appointments of cadets, to the academy at West Point, will be made next month. Before the time, I shall call upon Mr. Calhoun, and if there should be many vacancies, I have no doubt that your brother will be appointed.

I am sorry that the Ohio Legislature pledged itself to support Mr. Clay.² Not that I would prefer all the others to him, but I think State nominations, so long before the elections, will render a congressional caucus necessary. At present, I do not know that Mr. Clay has any prospect of getting votes on this side of the mountains. For my own part, I would prefer Calhoun or Clay. The former meets my approbation in preference to the latter, because he is a man of much finer talents. His course has been uniform. No man has supported the policy of internal improvements and domestic manufactures with more zeal or more ability than Calhoun. In his nature he is frank, liberal, independent and firm. Against his moral character the slightest reproach has never been uttered. Pennsylvania is for Calhoun, and will support him with all her influence. She will be considered as the State on which his pretensions must first rely. And as it respects the policy of this State in regard to the policy in which the West is most interested, there can be no objection. Should Calhoun be elected, she will be to him, what Virginia has been to all our Presidents except one.

In great haste

Your friend,

Hon. G. P. Torrence,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

JOHN MCLEAN.³

¹ *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, No. 9. For Torrence Cf. *Foreword*.

² *Niles' Register* for Dec. 28, 1822 (XXIII, 257), reports an unsuccessful attempt by the Ohio Legislature to nominate a person for President. On the first of the following February (Ibid, 342), the editor reported a meeting of the General Assembly, presided over by General Allen Trimble, which placed Clay in nomination. A resolution was first introduced by General Duncan McArthur that _____ was entitled to confidence as candidate for President. A substitute motion, that it was then inexpedient to make a nomination, was lost by a vote of 47 to 43. McArthur's resolution was then adopted, whereupon those members, opposed to the caucus, withdrew. The remaining members proceeded to ballot, with the result that Clay received 50 votes; Clinton, 5; John Quincy Adams, 1, and Calhoun, 1. Clay's name was then inserted in the blank space in the resolution, and the result of the meeting published.

³ For McLean cf. QUARTERLY I, p. 85, Note 59. He was then serving as Postmaster-General in Monroe's Cabinet.

II.

THOMAS H. WILLIAMS TO JAMES FINDLAY.

SENATE CHAMBER, March 3, 1823.⁴

Dear Sir,

Our old friend Vance⁵ has been appointed Register of the Land office at Fort Wayne—and your brother Jonathan⁶ has been appointed to a similar office in Missouri. These two appointments have given me more pleasure than any thing of the kind which has happened since I had a seat among the Conscript Fathers.

A half a dozen of us who believe that no gentleman ought to travel in the stage who has either credit or cash, have chartered a Post Coach and four for Wheeling. Messrs Brown,⁷ Ross & Vance of Ohio are of the party. We set out early to-morrow and hope to be at Cincinnati by the 15th, and if the tyranny and caprice of the Steam boat commanders, interpose no obstacles, I hope to have the pleasure of touching at the old stand.

In great haste and bustle I am truly yours

THO. H. WILLIAMS.⁸

General James Findlay,
Cincinnati, O.

III.

GEORGE P. TORRENCE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 20th, 1825.⁹

Dear Sir,

I see the President in his message¹⁰ has cut out business for you all. It is generally spoken of, as an able document. You

⁴ *Torrence Papers*, Box 29, No. 12.

⁵ Samuel C. Vance (b. in Va.). Cf. *Official Register* for 1826, p. 64.

⁶ For Jonathan Findlay Cf. QUARTERLY I, pp. 66 and 83. His office was located in Lexington, Mo., and his name appears in the "Blue Book," until the issue for Sept., 1831.

⁷ James Brown, senator from Louisiana. The others were Thomas R. Ross and Joseph Vance.

⁸ Thomas H. Williams, senator from Mississippi. He had served as acting-governor of that Territory in 1809.

⁹ *Torrence Papers*, Box 23, No. 18.

¹⁰ President Adams's message is found in Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, II, 299; an excellent summary, in Turner, *Rise of the New West*, 275-277. The document presented a most elaborate national program, but with a disregard of state prejudices that proved highly "exceptionable."

will I apprehend, find much difficulty, in maturing a militia system¹ that will get through safe. The Pres[iden]t has not overlooked the backwoods in his address. How strong will the opposition be able to muster? Here I think the people are pretty well settled down and unless he does something exceptionable the excitement will not be easily kept up three or four years.¹² . . .

IV.

JAMES MILLER TO JAMES FINDLAY.

SALEM, Decr. 27, 1825.¹³

My dear Sir,

I am settled down here as Collector of the District of Salem & Beverly, it is the office I sought hard for, and obtained it before I ascertained correctly what the income would be to me; what is called the red book deceived me. I supposed the amount set down there as the income of the Collector, was his without any deduction, but, on further examination, I found that what is set down in that book as the pay of the Coll[ecto]r is the aggregate of the whole pay of Coll[ecto]r, Deputy, Clerk hire, wood, stationery and every contingency about the office; after paying all the forenamed charges, I have little left for me; the percentage now allowed at this place is only $\frac{5}{8}$ on one percent on the money collected. I have sent a memorial or petition to the Hon. Mr. Rush Secretary of the Treasury, requesting to be allowed one percent on all collections, insted of $\frac{5}{8}$ ths as now allowed me. I expect my request will be brought before Congress the present session by some of my friends, and I have to request your friendly influence in my behalf if you think my request to be reasonable. I pray of you to use your influence with the Honorable Members of the West, to help me. What I now receive will not give me a decent living with my Family, what I ask will never make me rich as the pay is limited at \$3000. I cannot receive any more in any one year let the percentage be ever ever so much.¹⁴

¹¹ In his message, President Adams had suggested a better organization of the militia, so as to give it a "more united and active energy."

¹² The allusion is to the election of Adams by the House, and the attendant charges growing out of it.

¹³ *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, No. 28.

¹⁴ In the "Blue Book" for 1822, p. 25, the compensation for the office is placed at \$3,971.38. This amount varies in the following editions of this publication, but, in 1832, when Miller still holds office, his own personal salary is reported as \$3,000 per annum. His appeal evidently had some effect, although Secretary Rush does not mention the matter in his report for 1826.

I write to you in full confidence that you still possess that same frank friendly feeling for me which you have ever evinced toward me. I count much on the assistance and sincerity of an old and worthy Brother.

With very great respect and esteem, I am your sincere friend and
Very humble Servant.

JAMES MILLER.

Hon. James Finley, Esqr.

V

GEORGE P. TORRENCE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, Feby 16, 1826.¹⁵

Dear Sir,

I see you have had long debates on the Judiciary.¹⁶ Who is to be our Judge, if the bill goes through? I wish you to be polite and friendly to Hammond¹⁷ while in the city. He was my friend and will oppose Benham's views.¹⁸ I have heard Gov[erno]r Cass,¹⁹ Judges McLean²⁰ and Burnett²¹ spoken of as the prominent candidates for the judgeship. I see from the last paper the Panama Mission is likely to occasion some more difficulty than was contemplated by our people. I am a little afraid there is a little more opposition to the administration in this than is honestly avowed. If the mission be likely to produce good effects to mankind I hope it may not fail because it was recommended by Pres[iden]t Adams. . . .

¹⁵ *Torrence Papers*, Box 23, No. 22.

¹⁶ On the subject of the Judiciary Debate, Cf. QUARTERLY I, p. 72.

¹⁷ Charles Hammond, editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, and an intimate friend of Henry Clay.

¹⁸ Joseph Benham was mentioned as a possible candidate for Findlay's seat. On May 10, 1826, W. H. Harrison, Jr. wrote [Box 10, No. 22]: "It is said Thomas Morris, of Clermont, and Joseph Benham, Esqs., will be your opponents at the next election. Your friends, generally, think there is no danger of your election."

¹⁹ Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, and later Secretary of War under Jackson, and Democratic nominee for the Presidency in 1848.

²⁰ See QUARTERLY I, p. 85.

²¹ Jacob Burnet (1770-1853), was member of the Legislative Council of the Northwest Territory, judge of the Supreme Court of the State, and a well-known author upon the early history of this section. Some of his work was printed under the auspices of this Society. He retired from the Supreme Bench of Ohio about 1825.

VI.

GEORGE P. TORRENCE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BATAVIA, CLERMONT Co., Apl 9th, 1826.²²

Dear Sir,

From the papers, we may infer that you have had a stormy session²³ so far. I fear the public good, is not the only object some great men in the opposition have in view. On the subject which seems to create such excitement in Congress it appears to me, our people appear to be very quiet, they seem to be satisfied with the course Government has pursued and are likely to pursue. There is a warm feeling towards those South American Governments, how far they would be willing to go, will very much depend on the great leaders I presume.

VII.

GEORGE P. TORRENCE TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

BATAVIA, CLERMONT Co., OHIO, April 9th, 1826.²⁴

Dear Madam,

I cannot but admire your choice in leaving the City, for the society of the good, honest scotch Irish of Penn[sylvani]a who formerly spoke what they thought, and thought pretty correctly. Whether they are still entitled to that character since they all turned Jacksonites I cannot tell. We shall hear from you I hope on your return. From what I see of the proceedings of the great men at Washington, I fear very many are determined to find fault with every thing, right or wrong [and] to throw every obstacle in the way of the ruling party without regard to the public good, merely for party purposes. I am sorry to see so fine talents used for such unworthy purposes.²⁵

²² *Torrence Papers*, Box 23, No. 23.

²³ The session of the 18th Congress was rendered memorable by the factitious opposition to President Adams, as displayed in the debate on the proposed amendment choosing the President and Vice-President, and in that on the Panama Mission. Cf. QUARTERLY I, p. 74. Anent the latter subject, W. H. Harrison, Jr., wrote Findlay, May 10, 1826 (Box 10, No. 22): "I am really glad that you voted for the outfit of our ministers to Panama. The people here are very generally in favor of the mission."

²⁴ *Torrence Papers*, Box 23, No. 24. Mrs. Jane Findlay was the wife of General James Findlay.

²⁵ Cf. preceding letter and note 23.

I find the Penn[sylvani]a Legislature have caught the canal fever as well as ours. I scarcely expected they would go Millions in debt these hard times, but all may be right if any advantage be derived therefrom. I hope our friends may receive a goodly portion.²⁶ . . .

I am very sincerely

Your friend,

Mrs. Jane Findlay,
Chambersburg, Pa.

GEO. P. TORRENCE.

VIII.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, Jan. 31, 1829.²⁷

Dr General,

Before this you will have the President elect with you. As I class you among my sincerest friends, and as no man knows my claims, history etc better than yourself, I speak freely to you and beg you when occasion presents to speak as I merit, no better, to General Jackson and his friends. I did not intend to apply for office believing I c[oul]d procure none that w[oul]d justify my acceptance. My friends however insist upon my presenting myself and demand for me a prominent station, if Ohio is to receive one. The mission to Mexico has been suggested—I consider McLean and yourself—I yield to [you] but [to] no other. These last hour men have no claim. I cannot accept an office not an honourable one; [and] I cannot accept an office for mere honour. The only reason why I prefer a mission is the outfit; this w[oul]d enable me to pay off certain encumbrances and to start fair.²⁸ I leave my case however with my friends freely trusting to your honour and good feelings.

You may communicate with Lee.²⁹

Sincerely Yours,
Morgan Neville.

Honble General J. Findlay,
Member of Congress,
City of Washington.

²⁶ Cf. QUARTERLY I, p. 73.

²⁷ *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 3. For Neville Cf. FOREWORD.

²⁸ Neville's frankly confessed motive suggests a comparison with John Randolph's famous ten-days' mission to Russia. Cf. Adams, *John Randolph*, 294.

²⁹ Henry Lee, of Virginia, a prominent Jackson supporter, whose nomination as Consul to Algiers was rejected by the Senate.

IX.

ANDREW METCALF TO JAMES FINDLAY.

WASHINGTON, GUERNSEY COUNTY, OHIO,³⁰

Feby 23d, 1829.

Dear Sir,

The great political contest in this state is over for the present and Gen[era]l A[ndrew] Jackson has received the vote of the state for President of the United States by a small majority; notwithstanding the Legislature of the state was administration; and their acts prove to us that we have nothing to expect from them.³¹ We, therefore wish if possible to be prepared for them at the next October elections and give them a total defeat; to render this more certain in this section of the country it is absolutely necessary that the present Superintendent³² of the National road and his assistants should be removed from office—more bitter enemies to Genl. Jackson's election and to his supporters can be found in no part of the United States; men were discharged from the road—no reasons alledged except that they were Jacksonians. If the present incumbents should be removed, permit me to request you to mention my name but I must here state that my object is to have them removed from office (that a true Jacksonian may receive the appointment, who at least will not oppose us at the next election) more than the office itself—yet certainly that is one object. I shall write General Duff Green³³ (whose worth and labours have been so sensibly felt and acknowledged by the Jacksonians) on the subject. . . .

Very respectfully your Humble Sevt.

Andrew Metcalf.³⁴

Genl. James Findlay.

³⁰ *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, No. 26.

³¹ *Niles Register*, XXVII, 165, reports a majority of two against Jackson, on joint ballot, as a result of the October elections for the members of the Ohio Legislature. This statement is based on the authority of the *Steubenville Herald*.

³² Jonathan Knight, Esq., held this office. Cf. *Ohio State Journal*, Feb. 22, 1827.

³³ Duff Green was the editor of the *Telegraph*, the Jackson organ at Washington. He was also a supporter of Calhoun as Jackson's successor in 1832, and was proscribed by the latter when the famous break occurred between the two.

³⁴ Andrew Metcalf was a delegate from his county to the Jackson Convention, which met at Columbus, January 8, 1828. Cf. *National Republican* for Jan. 18, 1828.

X.

ISAAC MILLS TO JAMES FINDLAY.

ELIZABETHTOWN, 2d March, 1829.³⁵

Dear Sir,

From your partiality towards me which I have no reason to doubt resulted from the purest motives, I have been induced to solicit you to interest yourself in my behalf in recommending me to the President, so far as you can consistently, as I have from the solicitation of my friends written to him for the appointment of U. S. Marshall for the State of Ohio and have referred him to you for my qualifications to fill that responsible Office. You can if you please inform him of my zeal in the cause of reform. My being an early settler in the western country, also an officer, to wit "Conductor of Military Stores" in St. Clair's army ranking as Capt[ain], also born all the toils and fatigues incident to a frontier Campaign at that period.

I presume likewise that you have not been a stranger to my unremitting exertions in the late presidential canvass. It is therefore hoped and confidently believed that the Pres[iden]t will not be disposed to forget his old and tried friends should it be in his power to remunerate them or do them any service. Being also aware that applicants quite too numerous will be presented for the same office which will give the Pres[iden]t an ample range to make his appointments from the most meritorious. Your attention to the above will be duly remembered.

Your Obt. Sert,

Isaac Mills.³⁶

Honl Genl James Findlay.

XI.

AMBROSE WHITLOCK TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, Nov. 23d, 1829.³⁷

Sir,

Your being an old acquaintance, and viewed as a friend, I shall write to you in my own blunt and awkward stile without any apology.

Among all the removals, proscriptions and reforms that was going

³⁵ *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, No. 30.

³⁶ Mills's name does not appear among the delegates to the Jackson Convention, held at Columbus in 1828 [Cf. Note 34]. A certain John Patterson received the appointment as marshal. The fact that Mills, in 1832, served as postmaster of his town, and that his compensation was \$21.67 ["Blue Book" for 1830, p. 221] leads one to infer that he greatly overestimated his services.

³⁷ *Torrence Papers*, Box 28, No. 46.

on and so much talked of last Spring it never once entered into my mind that either would reach me, but I was mistaken. I have been weighed (I suppose) and found wanting, and on what account I know not. If it be for a supposed dereliction of official duty I should like to know it. I fear not the most Scrutonising investigation on that score or if it be for opinions sake I should like to know it also.

I very well recollect that previous to the last presidential election, it was bruted about by the rabble that if General Jackson was elected, all the Adams men would be turned out of office. This garboil [gabble?] had no effect with me. I thought Mr. Adams administration a good one and voted for him, and when he was elected I did not vote for him, Mr. Crawford was then my choice, and I still think him to be as good and as great a man as any other in this Government. When I am called upon Sir, to give my vote I give it independently as a free man disregarding any consequences that may result from it, and if such a vote has been the means of turning me out of office, I am willing to stay out the remaining balance of my days and am no longer desirous of participating in the blessings of a free Government on any such terms, and am willing to let my services for one third of [a] century go for naught.

You Sir, have some knowledge of the commencement of my services. It was in the ranks of the army where I served twenty three years and seven months during which period I graduated to the rank of Captain, and seventeen years of said period I was charged with the pay of the Troops where I disbursed large sums of money, all of which was settled to the entire satisfaction of the Government.³⁸ At the close of the late war I was disbanded which was the lot of many a meritorious officer. I have been nine years and about four months Receiver of public moneys,³⁹ and am now ready to settle on fair principals for every cent of public moneys that ever came into my hands.

This office was given to me by Mr. Monroe, one of General Jackson's Illustrious predecessors, not on account of the recommendations of political friends but solely on account of long and faithful services rendered in the army. The office at first was worth but little and until within about three years back it has not more than supported my

³⁸ A letter from Whitlock, dated April 20, 1799 [Box 22, No. 43], shows him as then serving as Assistant Quartermaster-General.

³⁹ His name appears in the "Blue Book" for 1822 as located at Terre Haute, and later, in 1826, at Crawfordsville.

family.⁴⁰ It was first established at Terre Haute, and afterwards by order of the president, it was removed to this place at the expense of the late Register and myself, the place then being an entire wilderness, which caused both of our families to undergo privations incidental to settlers of all new countrys. The office is now become profitable, [and] it is taken from me and given to another. A certain Israel T. Canby⁴¹ is my successor. He is a professional character, he is called Doctor, and he deals in tape and calico too, but in my humble opinion the title of political juggler would apply better than either. There is in this State a political Club who have given themselves the popular name of the central Jackson committee, who it is said claim to themselves the the honours of making or causing to be made all the removals and appointments in this State, and this, I must confess looks a little feezible, as a goodly number of this self cre[a]ted mangre [managing?] club have been appointed to the most lucrative offices in the State. I presume that they recommend each other, and make room for themselves by fabricating false alarms and reports against honest and capable men. This Mr. Canby is said to be one of the club and for fear he should not succeed he travelled all the way to the City of Washington to assist in chisselling me out, to make room for himself. So far he has discovered much *zeal*. When he came here to take possession of the office, he told some of his acquaintances, that when at the city, he was an applicant for office but he had not named any particular one, and a certain Mr. Lewis,⁴² a confidential friend of Gen[era]l Jacksons asked him if the Gen[era]l should select one for him. He consented and the Gen[era]l gave him the Receivers office at this place. This is friendly. The office of Register at this place has now become a sinecure in as much as the newly appointed one either farmed or proxied it out to another the same day he received it and returned to his place of residence about fifty miles distant from this place and has not I am told been at it one day since, except to be present at a public sale which has just terminated.⁴³

⁴⁰ The compensation is reported in the "Blue Book" as \$500 per annum, and one per cent of the money paid into the Land Office, but was not to exceed \$3,000.

⁴¹ Canby's name appears in the "Blue Book" for 1830.

⁴² W. B. Lewis, Jackson's friend and political manager. He held the office of Second Auditor of the Treasury.

⁴³ General Samuel Milroy [1780-1845] was appointed Register, but did not wish to leave the farm in Carroll County, Ind., on which he resided, so, for four years, his son performed the duties of the office, when his father resigned, rather than remove thither. He later served as Indian Agent under Van Buren and Polk. Cf *Recollections of Carroll County*, p. 183.

Now Sir, as you are what is called a Jackson man—I have no doubt but what you are right if that be your opinion, no more doubt of it, than I have of my own opinion as an Adams man as each man is certainly entitled to his own opinion.

I now want your opinion in my case, that is, whether you think or believe that the public service has really been benefitted by my removal. Your answer to this I shall expect independent of either party. This letter may possibly not reach you, as at least two thirds of all the public Letters addressed to me through the post office have come to hand with their seals broken for nine months previous to my removal.

I am Sir with great respect your

Obt Servant,

The Honbl. James Findlay.

A. Whitlock.

XII.

ST. CLAIRSVILLE, O., Decr 3, 1829.⁴⁴

Hon. James Findlay,

Sir,—After my best respects I will inform you that my friends have made application to Mr. Van Buren to select the Press of which I am the proprietor, in which to publish the Laws of Congress.

Of the three to be selected, I suppose one will be in Cincinnati one in Columbus—as I know of no reason which would give Steubenville an advantage over the towns in its neighborhood, I cannot think there would be any impropriety in changing the printing to this place. Our County is the most populous, and besides we have the advantage of the National Road for rapid transportation. Of my fidelity to the Democratic party—the zeal with which I supported the cause of the People—and of my warm attachment to Gen. Jackson—you are already acquainted.

Any thing you may feel a freedom in doing in my behalf in this particular will be viewed as a very particular favor. Respectable recommendations are already in the possession of the Sec[retar]y of State to which I would be pleased to have yours added.

Your obt servt,

Hon. James Findlay, M. C.,
Washington.

R. H. Miller.

⁴⁴ *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, No. 29.

XIII.

GEORGE P. TORRENCE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CIN., DECR. 27th, 1829.⁴⁶

Dear Sir,

The President's message came on with astonishing rapidity⁴⁶ and is well received with few exceptions. Some complain that the Indians are to be driven off and some on account of the Tariff. They were however pretty much determined not to be pleased.⁴⁷

XIV.

SAMUEL NEWELL TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BELLEFONTAINE, O., 4th Jany, 1830.⁴⁸

Genl J. Findley,

Dear Sir,—Please excuse my freedom in addressing you on a subject in which our frontier feels deeply interested, to wit. our Indian relations. There is a report in circulation that measures are in progress to remove Col. James McPherson,⁴⁹ (who is the present Sub Indian agent in this quarter) on political grounds as to the late Presidential contest, and of course his place will be filled by some new hand—changes in many instances may prove beneficial. But in this

⁴⁶ *Torrence Papers*, Box 23, No. 26.

⁴⁶ The *National Republican* for December 18, 1829, announces the reception of the message in Cincinnati within fifty hours from Washington, despite the wretched condition of the Ohio roads. With dry roads, the mail contractor assured the public that the distance, 523 miles, could be traversed in forty hours. The message was printed in the *Cincinnati Gazette* for December 11, 1829.

⁴⁷ Charles Hammond, in the *Cincinnati Gazette* for December 14, 1829, wrote: "The Indians are to be driven forth to the wilds of the Arkansaw and Missouri. The validity of the pretensions of Georgia, for with her the matter originated, is fully recognized." On December 16th, he followed this statement by a more bitter attack upon Jackson's Indian policy. Hammond stated, editorially, that in regard to the tariff and internal improvements, the Executive was preparing to enter into the views of the Southern politicians. A protective tariff was to be abandoned, and national revenues surrendered to the separate States. His later attacks upon this feature were likewise much more bitter.

⁴⁸ *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 20.

⁴⁹ James McPherson, a native of Carlisle, Pa., was in early life taken a prisoner, and adopted by the Senecas. For some years he was in the service of the British Indian Department, under Elliott and McKee, but after 1795 he entered the service of the Americans. In the treaty negotiated by Cass and McArthur, in 1817, he received a section of land at Lewiston as an adopted member of the Seneca tribe. He was very influential in keeping the Indians peaceful during the second contest with Great Britain. He was engaged in trade, and was probably the first storekeeper in Logan County. He held office as Indian Agent until 1830, when he was removed and succeeded by David Robb, a native of Missouri. The office paid \$500 per annum. Cf. *Hist. of Logan Co.*, p. 233; *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs* II, 132.

instance I trust a change will not be made. The present incumbent having a thorough knowledge of the Indian character and Customs and possessing an allmost boundless controll over those who compose his red family, being an adopted brother to the principle chief of the nation and also from his correctness has insured the esteem and confidence of the white population who inhabit the fronteers and being master of the Indian Language he is well qualified for settling all difficulties which may arrise between the Indians and whites. I have marked well his course during the Late war and feel confident he was the main instrument which effected the friendship and harmony which existed among them and our fronteer settlers, and I am clearly of Opinion that the lives of many of our wimen and children were preserved under the blessings of providence by his instrumentality. The care and management of those Indian's persons and property have been intrusted to him for about twenty years during which time there has not a difficulty arrisen between the Whites and Indians of any magnitude. The whole number which reside here are about —, ⁵⁰ and we feel a deep interest in preserving friendly relations with them while they remain in our country. I trust the time is not far distant when they will feel it there interest to sell there Reservations and move westward. I believe Col. McPheresan's influence in removing them when it is thought best by the Government would be equal to his influence in preserving peace and quietness while here. I would add, he is a soldier of the revolution he has shed his blood freely in defence of his country—has grown gray in its service. Under these considerations I trust you will use your influence with the heads of the Indian Department for his continuance as agent. When you have a Lasieur hour please drop me a line. I hope you will not forget the Sandusky Road but if possible procure us some help for its improvement, its completion is a desirable object and one in which all our miami and Mad river Country feel deeply interested in and one that will afford great facilities to the Merchants and farmers

I am much gratified to see the smooth and pleasant start business takes in Congress.—I trust that party Sperit may not enter the Halls of Congress to the prejudice of the many and common Intrusts of our common Country. Give my respects to all old friends. I remain with much esteem,

Your friend,

Honorable James Findley,
Rep. in Congress, Washington City.

Samuel Newell.

⁵⁰ The number is not given in the letter.

XV.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, FEB. 17th, 30.⁵¹

Dear General,

I beg you to accept of my thanks for your attention to the business of the widow Arcambal.⁵² A similar claim of hers, was presented to Mr. Clay when he was at the head of the State department, which was entirely neglected; by which means the poor woman is in arrears *two Years* of her pension.

With regard to news, we have very little to interest you. You of course understand the nature of the disgraceful scenes, which have distinguished the election of Judges, lately, at Columbus.⁵³ Hayward⁵⁴ was elected on the second ballot, by an agreement, (as Graham can prove) between a partisan of our party and our old antagonists; these last were *deceived* in turn, by the Hayward faction, who it seems w[oul]d not comply with the terms of the contract, after they had gained their own point. It was a righteous judgment, however.

Since the election, I find that Hayward has been offered a high situation in the General Post office department. This I suppose he will accept rather than enter on the duties of the bench, for he certainly cannot be fit.

The little intrigues of the city cannot be very important to you, when you have before you, intrigues of a much higher order. Some of the Co-abolitionists here, however, have induced some of our pious Jacksonians to take the lead in a "Cherokee Meeting." I advised them against it; they have now found out that they have been *used*, and are much chagrinned.⁵⁵

⁵¹ *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 5.

⁵² Madame Arcambal was the widow of a former French Consul-General and sister-in-law of the mathematician, LaCroix, who acted as her agent to receive the pension from the French government. It was necessary to have the papers in question transmitted through the French minister at Washington, and this was the service performed by General Findlay. Madame Arcambal lived with her son-in-law, Joseph Tosso, a "professor of music," residing on Center Street. Cf. Box 18, Nos. 4, 14, 16, and *Cin. Directory* for 1829.

⁵³ This election involved an important controversy in local politics reserved for future treatment. It is reported in *Niles's Register*, XXVII, 428.

⁵⁴ For Elijah Hayward, Cf. *QUARTERLY* I, p. 76. He later became Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington. John M. Goodenow [see Note 59] was elected as his colleague. *Cin. Chronicle*, Feb. 6, 1830.

⁵⁵ The *Cincinnati Chronicle* for February 13, 1830, reports a meeting held at the First Presbyterian Church, on the 9th, to consider the expediency of memorializing Congress on the subject of the controversy between Georgia and the Creek Indians. William Corry presided, and Dr. V. C. Marshall acted as secretary. After some dis-

I have supposed, that an understanding might be effected between Calhoun and McLane, [McLean] during the present session. I think this w[oul]d be desirable to the friends of both the gentlemen. Calhoun has a strong party in this City and I believe in the State; but they have kept quiet until a full development sh[oul]d take place. Many of them have been passing for warm Van Buren men.

XVI.

JESSE MORGAN TO JAMES FINDLAY.

PULASKI, FEB. 25th, 1830.⁵⁶

Hon. James Findley,

Dear Sir,—Haveing received one or two Letters from you from the city in the Winter of 1828 Directly after the Delegates had met at Columbus, Ohio to form the Electoral ticket for Gen. Jackson⁵⁷ not being personally acquainted with you I take the Liberty of Writing to you and hope to merit your favour to recommend me to the president for the appintment of [Ind] ian agent at Chicago in the room of a Adams man Dr. Wolcot.⁵⁸ Now I hope you will confer with my personal friend the Hond John M. Goodenow⁵⁹ the Hond John Thompson⁶⁰ and any other Jackson friend that you may think proper. Please to answer this. Direct your answer to pulaski Cass County Indiana. Yours with High consideration of respect etc.⁶¹

Jesse Morgan.

P. S.—I have lately removed into the State from Holmes County, Ohio out of Mr. Goodenows District.

cussion, a committee of seven was appointed to investigate and report resolutions at a subsequent meeting. No report from this committee appears in the *Chronicle* as late as June of that year.

⁵⁶ *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, No. 46.

⁵⁷ The ticket is given in *Niles's Register*, XXXIII, 357, but Morgan's name does not appear among the electors.

⁵⁸ Alexander Wolcott (b. in Conn.); salary, \$1,300. Cf. *Official Register*, 1830, p. 83.

⁵⁹ John M. Goodenow, a native of Massachusetts, was elected to Congress from the Steubenville District in 1828, but resigned his seat in April, 1830, and removed to Cincinnati. He was a Presidential Elector in 1832, and in 1833 succeeded George P. Torrence as Presiding Judge of the Seventh Judicial Circuit. *Hist. of Clermont Co.*, p. 111.

⁶⁰ Representative from Ohio.

⁶¹ The "Blue Book" for 1832 shows that Thomas J. Owen received the appointment as Indian Agent at Chicago.

XVII.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JAMES FINDLAY.

INDIANAPOLIS, March 25, 1830.⁶²

Dear Sir,

On examining the Tellegraph of the 6th inst I observed a resolution introduced in the Senate by Mr. Noble⁶³ of this State calling on the President for a copy of Dr. Canby's Bond as Receiver at Crawfordsville. From this Circumstance and reports, I have heard, that Mr. Noble would oppose the D[octo]r's nomination violently, I have concluded to trespass on your friendship by requesting the favour of you to communicate freely to the senators you are acquainted with, the Character of Dr. Canby. I presume you are personally acquainted with him, he is a man of the strictest integrity, and high sense of honor, is well quallified to discharge the duties of the office. It is true he is situated in a new Country where the roads are bad, the waters have been high most all winter, the Country being new and the streams so rapid there are no ferries across them, the sales at Crawfordsville have been extensive and It is probable in one or two instances he has been unable promptly to comply with the instruction of the department in making his deposits. He is a very popular man, all parties are pleased with his Appointment in Indiana, except the connexions of those that have been removed.

Noble is desperate in consequence of his brother being one of the officers removed, I have been informed that he would oppose my nomination,⁶⁴ but I am not uneasy for Mr. Hendricks⁶⁵ will support me and I think Judge Burnet⁶⁶ will, they both have known me, from my infancy, and would not suffer any unfounded charge to be made against me without contradicting it.

Mr. Noble blames Dr. Canby for being instrumental in effecting the removals in Indiana and will go all lengths.⁶⁷

⁶² *Torrence Papers*, Box 22, No. 15.

⁶³ James Noble, a native of Virginia, was one of the early settlers of Brookville, Ind. He was chosen United States Senator in 1816, and served until his death in 1831. He was very popular with his constituents, and wielded a wide influence in the new State. Cf. Smith, *History of Indiana*, I, 216. His brother, Noah Noble, was removed to make place for Arthur St. Clair, but in 1831 was elected Governor of the State. *Ibid*, 715.

⁶⁴ As Receiver of Public Money at Indianapolis. Cf. *Official Register* for 1832, p. 81.

⁶⁵ William Hendricks, the other Senator from Indiana.

⁶⁶ Cf. Note 21.

⁶⁷ Evidently Dr. Canby was not removed at this time. But a letter from Hon. Albert S. White, dated December 23, 1832 [*Recollections of Carroll Co.*, p. 137],

It might be considered that I am imprudent in expressing myself thus free to you. But I know I am writing to a man who is my friend, and who has always been a friend of my lamented father, and I thought I would not, be doing Dr. Canby justice if I did not do so.

With Respect,

Your Friend,

Hon. James Findlay. A. St. Clair.

XVIII.

GEORGE P. TORRENCE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BATAVIA, APL. 11th, 1830.⁶⁸

Dear Sir,

Having been detained here over Sunday, I have barely time to drop you a line. I am happy to find by the last Journal you are again at your post and on your timbers. There is in our district but little said yet as to the next Congressional election.

Benham⁶⁹ is out they tell me endeavoring to beat up for recruits, he is determined to run. Your Jackson friend D. Wade⁷⁰ I am told is very anxious but says little. The old hands say you can beat any of them, if a candidate. Morris⁷¹ is not out yet; but some think he is beating up. We have nothing new turning up that I recollect. Your friends were well a week ago.

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. Findlay and Gen[era]l Harrison if he is still with you.

XIX.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, APRIL 29th, 1830.⁷²

Dr General,

A vacancy in the office of paymaster has occurred, by the resignation of Major Gwynne. The office w[oul]d suit me *better than none*;

states, "We learn that Dr. Canby is removed. His successor is not known, but conjecture fixes upon Mr. Pollock or Mr. Palmer." The *Official Register* of 1833, p. 75, gives James T. Pollock as the incumbent of the office.

⁶⁸ *Torrence Papers*, Box 23, No. 29.

⁶⁹ Cf. Note 18.

⁷⁰ David Wade was an attorney, with office on Fifth, between Main and Sycamore. Cf. *Cincinnati Directory* for 1829, p. 125. The *Independent Press*, November 14, 1829, states that he had served as Prosecuting Attorney for eleven years, and also County and Township Treasurer, and that it was time for him to retire from office.

⁷¹ Thomas Morris, of Clermont County, who, in 1833, succeeded Benjamin Ruggles as United States Senator from Ohio. In February, 1839, he made an important anti-slavery speech that cost him his re-election. Cf. *Hist. Clermont Co.*, 196.

⁷² *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 8.

You may say so to the proper authority, if you think proper, altho to be candid with you, I have no hopes of this, or of any other. My military claims are small, being confined to merely supporting the widow and orphans of a Revolutionary soldier. You may try if you think fit however.⁷³

Is there no chance of getting my unfortunate brother restored to the Corps even as a suspended officer, at the end of the two years for which he was suspended? . . . His half pay would keep him from being a burden to me. I have only seen him for a few minutes.⁷⁴

XX.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, May 22, 30.⁷⁵

Dr General,

I have just had an intimation about being appointed Receiver of this place. As it is not officially announced to me, I of course cannot say what I shall do. I should be sorry to suppose General Jackson w[oul]d think I want such an office. I beg you however to see General Jackson *immediately* [and say] that if he ever intended to give me Huron⁷⁶ that I respectfully hold him to the *original intention*. It is of importance to me to know that the General is decided on giving me the office of Governor when the territory is laid off. I depend on you.

⁷³ Colonel William Piatt was appointed to this office. Cf. *Cincinnati Chronicle*, June 5, 1830.

⁷⁴ The reference is to his brother, Francis, who had been in the Marine Corps, and had become involved in some difficulty with a superior officer while in Rio de Janeiro. Morgan Neville was inclined to regard him as a victim of persecution. Cf. Box 18, No. 7.

⁷⁵ *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 9.

⁷⁶ The Hon. James D. Doty, afterwards Governor of Wisconsin, attempted to have the territory within the limits of the present State, and, in addition, the present upper peninsula of Michigan, organized under a separate territorial government. The name first suggested for this new territory was that of Chippewau; later, Huron; and, finally, the name the State now bears. During the preceding year the *Cincinnati Gazette*, Hammond's paper, referred to an article in the *Philadelphia American Sentinel*, describing the mineral wealth of the proposed territory. This article was signed by a "Distinguished Citizen of the West," residing in Cincinnati, and Hammond proceeded to make some sarcastic remarks about the "distinguished" writer, who may have been Neville.

XXI.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CIN., May 24, 1830.⁷⁷*Dr General,*

Your letter has removed some very disagreeable feelings from my mind. I had, before I rec[eive]d it, resolved to send the commission of Receiver, back with indignation, as soon as I rec[eive]d it.⁷⁸

I am satisfied now, that no want of consideration of me, induced the nomination. For the present then I will accept it, but recollect, dear General, under the distinct understanding that this is not to prejudice my claims and expectations. On this subject, I trust to your friendship to bring me home, a distinct promise from the chief.

Wade and Benham are both out for Congress. They are both sanguine and Benham has recanted his Clayism. We are keeping you up as a candidate although we have no absolute authority from you. For heaven's sake authorize us to say you are a candidate. You can prostrate the other two with great ease although I have no doubt that their friends are representing you as intending to decline. Wade has been nominated in one township, (I believe Anderson). It wont do, if you will run. Dont flinch. The party will probably be more divided, than formerly, but you will have the sinew and bone.⁷⁹ McLean has lost ground in the West, and I suspect Clay is stronger in Ohio than he was in consequence of the indiscreet appointments hitherto made. Calhoun is rising slowly but I believe surely. . . .

XXII.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, DECR. 8th, 1830.⁸⁰*Dear General,*

I intrude on you thus early, in order to put you on your guard, that no advantage may be taken of me. Since the appointment of a certain Commissioner, I have every thing to fear, and from a certain communication I have lately rec[eive]d I suspect the palace is beset by Van Burenism, *all round*.⁸¹ I know that some members of the old

⁷⁷ *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 10.

⁷⁸ In *Official Register* for 1838, p. 83, his name still appears. The salary of the was \$500 per year and one per cent of receipts and expenditures, but the total office was limited at \$2,500.

⁷⁹ Cf. Notes 18 and 70, and Letter XVIII.

⁸⁰ *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 11.

⁸¹ Cf. Benton *Thirty Years' View*, Ch. XLIII.

man's family, despond; but this is strictly for yourself. I wish to lose nothing by delay; if there is a disposition to give nothing but Huron, I must take it, but I w[oul]d prefer the Mission to Turkey if one is sent, or to Portugal, (if not a chargé.) Mr. Calhoun will no doubt aid all in his power. Beware of Hayward.⁸² If however the system is to be pursued, of heaping every thing on Van Buren's friends Jackson must lose Ohio. We should like to understand this fact as soon as possible. We expect you to take a hand. This is no time to remain inactive. Harrison is coming out for the Senate *heavy*. If both parties are in doubt as to their superiority, he may succeed. I have just written a sketch of his life, but I doubt the propriety of his publishing it.

XXIII.

JOHN FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CHAMBERSBURG, DEC. 25th, 1830.⁸³

Brother James,

I observe by the papers that you have laid the Tariff aside for the present.⁸⁴ I think it was as well to settle the question at once. I wrote to my friend Ramsey⁸⁵ some days ago, to try Col. Johnston⁸⁶ again, to do something to aid post masters at distributing offices—five per cent on distribution is too little between brothers. Sometimes we have to make out at least forty new bills—Envelope them, and enter them in a book, and copy that book, for which we get but twenty-five cents. I think distribution ought to be ten per cent, it would effect but three offices in this state, all the other distributing offices have their \$2,000 and cannot get more. On free letters for distribution I receive nothing; a few nights since I had to mail about 300 free letters which took more than twenty post bills, not one cent for it. I requested Mr. Ramsey to mention it to Judge McLane

⁸² Cf. Note 54.

⁸³ *Torrence Papers*, Box 8, No. 32. For John Findlay, Cf. QUARTERLY I, pp. 65, 68.

⁸⁴ Resolutions, dealing with certain features of the tariff, were introduced into the House on December 13th and 14th, but the body, by substantial majorities, refused to consider them. *Register of Debates*, Vol. VII, pp. 355, 358.

⁸⁵ Perhaps Mr. John Ramsey, then living at Maysville, Ky. Cf. QUARTERLY I, p. 84, Note 56.

⁸⁶ Colonel R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, afterwards Vice-President under Van Buren.

[McLean?], I think he could satisfy Col. Johnston that there should be a supplement to the post office law.⁸⁷

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XXIV.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, December 28th, 1830.⁸⁸

Brother James,

I intended to have written to you immediately after your arrival at Washington, but have hitherto omitted it, though I might have had time for the purpose. I have not however much leisure. When absent from the Mint my attention is much engaged in making myself acquainted with the duties of my station, which I trust, in a few weeks, I shall fully understand.

From what I already know of the business of the Mint I am persuaded the system of conducting it might be changed so as to render it less complex, more convenient to the officers and advantageous to the United States. But I am yet too young an officer to suggest the modifications that I would think proper. The salaries⁸⁹ of the officers generally are not adequate to their respective responsibilities, but this is a distinct subject from a change of the system of conducting the business of the establishment. Some of them, it is worthy of remark, have not been raised since they were first created, which is the case of but few of the salaries of officers of any importance under the Government beside those of the President and Vice President. I shall not however be among the first to apply for additional salary, though the office I hold never had any addition made to the salary originally annexed to it, whilst its duties and responsibilities have been greatly augmented by the increase of the business of the Institution. . . .

⁸⁷ The *Official Register* for 1830 reports the salary attached to the Chambersburg post-office as \$861.50, and for 1832 as \$966.70. McMaster, *Hist. of the People of the U. S.*, V, 533ff., has an interesting account of the Post-office Department at this time.

⁸⁸ *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 65. For William Findlay, Cf. QUARTERLY I, p. 65. He was then serving as *Treasurer* of the United States Mint at Philadelphia instead of *Director*, as erroneously stated in QUARTERLY I, pp. 65, 90. A half-tone portrait of Governor Findlay appears in *McClure's, Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania*, I, p. 33.

⁸⁹ The salaries, as given in the *Official Register* for 1833, ranged from \$2,000 to \$1,000 for the seven officials reported. William Findlay's own salary, as Treasurer, was \$1,200.

XXV.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, Jan. 10, 1831.⁹⁰*Dr. General,*

The mail is just closing and gives me time but to write a line. On my way up from the office I am informed that General Lytle⁹¹ is very unwell; he has been much indisposed for several weeks, but is worse; he may linger for weeks, but he may die tonight. His office would suit me better than the one promised me. Have the goodness then, dear General, to call on the President, and pre-occupy his mind in my favour before any applicant sends on. A forcible representation might secure it, in case of General Lytle's death. As this event may not occur for some time keep this secret; as I believe however that he cannot long survive lose no time in speaking for me and add to the obligations I owe you.

XXVI.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, Jan. 11, 1831.⁹²*Dr. General,*

I beg you to hand the enclosed to Mr. Calhoun. It is rumoured that he and the Pres[iden]t are *out*.⁹³ News has just reached us that Edward King⁹⁴ and 20 Clay men have declared for Mr. Van Buren. I believe it to be true. It will kick up a devil of a dust.

I wrote you yesterday evening announcing the probability of Genl Lytle's death, before long, and requesting you to pre-occupy the President's mind in my favour for the office he now holds. I prefer it to the one contemplated for me. Col. Johnston I think will second you, and if time is not given at Columbus to raise a force for the

⁹⁰ *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 12.

⁹¹ General William Lytle was the son of Captain William Lytle, who emigrated from Pennsylvania to Kentucky in 1779, and the father of Robert T. Lytle, mentioned in the next letter. All were prominent in the early history of this section of Ohio. General William Lytle was an intimate friend of President Jackson, who appointed him to the office of Surveyor-General of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan in 1829. The salary of the office was then \$2,000. Cf. *Hist. of Clermont Co.*, 191; Ford, *Hist. of Cincinnati*, 312; *Official Register* for 1830, p. 68.

⁹² *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 13.

⁹³ Cf. *Report Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1899, Vol. II, p. 279. The controversy began the preceding May, but was not published by Calhoun till a month after the above letter was written. [*Ibid.*, 289.]

⁹⁴ Edward King [1795-1836] was the fourth son of Rufus King, the famous statesman and diplomat. He came to Ohio in 1815, and was admitted to the bar at Chillicothe. He married a daughter of Governor Thomas ———. He was four times a representative in the Ohio Legislature from Ross County, and twice served as Speaker of that body. In 1831 he came to Cincinnati, where he continued to reside until his death. He was the father of Rufus King, long a leader in legal and educational interests in this city, the bulk of whose library, together with extensive funds, came into the possession of the Society through Mrs. Margaret Rives King, his widow.

caucus party⁹⁵ I ought to succeed if the poor old General dies. He is now certainly very low. Baldwin⁹⁶ of course will assist you.

Haines went on some days ago—he may possibly intend to make some interest for himself or Robert Lytle.⁹⁷ But you certainly c[oul]d and w[oul]d defeat such a measure. I rely much on you.

XXVII.

THOMAS FINLEY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BALTIMORE, 20th DECEMBER, 1831.⁹⁸

Brother James,

The debate as to the reference of the resolution in relation to the duty on Teas⁹⁹ etc. brings to my recollection a promise made to an importer of Teas to write you on the subject of the duty on this article. But I feel persuaded that I could not say anything that would not occur to yourself. Besides I am not well posted up as to facts.

The importer referred to says, that he is not an advocate for the reduction of duties—but as it is probably the intention of Congress to reduce them, he thinks it would prevent confusion and commercial embarrassment were the reduction applied to the whole quantity now in the public Warehouses; that the quantity of Teas now in the hands of the dealers that has paid the present rate of duty, is not considerable, and that very little inconvenience would result from the Teas now in the public stores being placed at the lowest rate of duty. This statement is plausible and for aught I know is sound, but if it should happen that arrangements have not been made for the importation of a liberal supply of Teas for the Spring sales, then the reduction of duty would not be followed by a corresponding reduction in price, and the importer would derive the benefit rather than the consumer.

I would myself be in favor of collecting a liberal revenue so as to place it in the power of the government to encourage great public works, but as public opinion seems to demand that the revenue should be greatly reduced then it becomes important that the reduction

⁹⁵ That his fears of adverse influence from Columbus were not unfounded is shown by the following from a letter of General John McLene to General Findlay, dated March 22, 1831 [Box 17, No. 10]: "On information of the decease of our friend, General Lytle, I have concluded to ask of the President of the United States the appointment of Surveyor-General of this district." He then states his qualifications, and asks General Findlay to unite with his friends in a letter of recommendation to the President, to be transmitted through Elijah Hayward.

⁹⁶ Possibly Henry Baldwin, Esq., of Pittsburg, a prominent advocate of a protective tariff. Cf. *Niles' Register*, XXXIV, 252.

⁹⁷ Robert T. Lytle held a subordinate position under his father, but he succeeded to General Findlay's seat in Congress. E. S. Haines was an attorney, residing with William Lytle. Cf. *Cin. Directory* for 1829. Micajah T. Williams received the appointment as Surveyor-General.

⁹⁸ *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 33.

⁹⁹ For reports, memorials, and debates on the subject of the duties on tea, Cf. *Register of Debates*, Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 12ff.

should be made by taking the duty from such articles as we are not likely to produce ourselves, and among these we may enumerate Tea, Coffee, Spices, Wines, and I think very coarse low-priced wool.

I would doubt however the policy of reducing the duty on Teas so low, as to lessen the present consumption of Coffee. We purchase Coffee with our Flour, Pork, Lard, Butter, Whiskey, Fish, Coarse Cottons, *etc.*, and this trade employs more tonnage in proportion to the amount than the trade to Canton. But it must be admitted that the Canton trade as carried on by some of the enterprising citizens of the Eastern states adds greatly to the capital of the country.

Much will be said about reducing the duties on luxuries, but it is not easy to draw the line of separation between comforts and luxuries, and the articles that are essential to life are very few.

If the rich man of Ohio is to drink his Madeira free of duty, the corn grower will have more demand and sell his corn at a better price in consequence of the free use of this same luxury. And if France will admit southern Cotton free of duty, let her fine Wines come in on the same terms for the benefit of the growing cause of temperance.

XXVIII.

GEORGE P. TORRENCE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINI, Jan'y 25, 1832.¹⁰⁰

Dear Genl,

I see you now have before you some subjects of great importance.¹⁰¹ I hope they may be discussed in such a way as to promote the general welfare of our common country and not to gratify party feelings, sectional whims or individual interests, but I fear party spirit so prevails that there is small chance for a fair impartial discussion on their real merits. . . .

XXIX.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, April 21st, 1832.¹⁰²

Brother James,

In the list of the *Yeas* [and] *Nays* that I lately examined I did not find your name, which, with not having heard from you for some length of time, has created an apprehension that your health is not so good as I had reason to expect, and [I] would be gratified to learn that this apprehension is unfounded.

Two vacancies have recently occurred in the Custom House here, and the applicants are numerous to the Collector¹⁰³ to submit their names to the Secretary of the Treasury,¹⁰⁴ to supply them. I am in-

¹⁰⁰ *Torrence Papers*, Box 23, No. 34.

¹⁰¹ Two of the important questions before this Congress were the proposed re-charter of the bank and the adoption of a new tariff.

¹⁰² *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 66.

¹⁰³ James M. Barker.

¹⁰⁴ Louis McLane, of Delaware.

formed that in some instances, the Secretary has intimated to the Collector a wish that he would nominate certain persons for such situations as those in question, and with which the Collector generally complied. I have but a slight acquaintance with the Collector but I believe he sustains a respectable character. It is however alleged, that from pecuniary embarrassments, or some other cause, he wants decision. Many of the early and steadfast friends of the administration express a strong desire for the appointment of John Steel,¹⁰⁵ once a flourishing merchant in this City but finally unfortunate in business, to fill one of the vacancies. But the Collector appears to hesitate about nominating him to the Secretary, without any grounds in my opinion, for him to pause in the case. My acquaintance with the Secretary would scarcely justify me in directly soliciting him to make an intimation to the Collector in favor of Mr. Steel. If he, or any of his predecessors, has done the like, it would certainly be warranted in this instance.

My friendship for Mr. Steel, combined with a solicitude to uphold and promote the success of the Administration, renders me anxious for his appointment. He is honest and capable, and therefore worthy of it, and I am confident not one can be selected in the City for the station, who could, from his extensive acquaintance both in Country and City, do more than he has done to aid the Administration, and would do, which is a consideration not to be lost sight of, other things being equal, in making appointments. I therefore wish that you would, if convenient, obtain an interview with the Secretary, and, in your own way and manner, impart these views to him. It is now late at night and I write hastily. I have to add that if any thing be done it must be done quickly. . . .

XXX.

SHERLOCK S. GREGORY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BALTIMORE, April 24, 1832.¹⁰⁶

Honored Sir,

Although a stranger, permit me to call your attention to two or three subjects, most of which appear important. One, that there exists in one or more of the United States, a law or laws, which subject a portion of the citizens (whether from the north or south) to lose their liberty barely for being in those states. Such laws are contrary to the Constitution, which guarantees the safety of life, liberty and property of the citizens. Another, that the law, or the decision of the Supreme Court, which is the same as one, lies prostrate, from Georgia refusing to submit to, and the President not enforcing it—and for neglect of which, he is subject to impeachment. Another,

¹⁰⁵ He failed to obtain the appointment. Cf. Letter XXXIII.

¹⁰⁶ *Torrence Papers*, Box 9, No. 56. This is a printed form which, in its appeal to the prejudices, aroused by laws against free blacks and by the controversy between Georgia and the Supreme Court, is typical of the Anti-Masonic methods of the period.

that a part of the Masonic oaths, if taken by members of Congress, disqualify them to fulfil the oath taken as members.

Yours most respectfully,
Sherlock S. Gregory.

Hon. J. Findlay of H. R.
Washington, D. C.

XXXI.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CINCINNATI, APRIL 24, 1832.¹⁰⁷

Dear General,

Accept my thanks for your generous interference in my behalf; but it was what I expected from a man so nobly constituted as yourself. I had received a couple of letters from Baldwin on the same subject before your kind favour was handed to me. Baldwin¹⁰⁸ is as much my friend, as *he can* be; but there is something defective about him. He was *born* in the *wrong* place.

I write to Governor Cass today to use his influence in getting a warrant in the Navy for my 4th son John S. Neville.¹⁰⁹ He is fourteen years of age. The fact is having seven sons I do not know what to do with them; My Jacksonism prevented me from getting a cadetcy for my eldest son six years ago. Is there not an influence which will defeat me now? I am not at all sanguine. You know I do not consider myself as *very particularly* distinguished by General Jackson, considering what I have done. I have told General Cass that you will move in this business if you are well enough. I beg you so to do.

XXXII.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, April 26th, 1832.¹¹⁰

Brother James,

When Col. Johnston¹¹¹ was last in this City he mentioned, that the salaries of the officers of the Mint were insufficient, and ought to be increased; but did not wish to submit a proposition to the House for the purpose. He observed, that if he were to bring forward the measure it might operate against its success, inasmuch as some deemed him too liberal, or extravagant, in his ideas of salaries, and it would be better if it should be proposed by some other Member than himself, and if it should be proposed, he would advocate. Genl. Smith¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ *Torrence Papers*, Box 18, No. 17.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Note 96.

¹⁰⁹ He evidently obtained the appointment, for January 27, 1833, Neville writes [Box 18, No. 18] that he had requested General Cass to use his influence to have his son placed in the Mediterranean squadron, in preference to a station in South America or the West Indies.

¹¹⁰ *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 67.

¹¹¹ Cf. Note 86.

¹¹² Samuel Smith, Senator from Maryland.

told me that Mr. McDuffee,¹¹³ had or would report a bill on the subject of Clerks and salaries, which would be a proper one to tack a provision for the officers of the Mint. I had not a suitable opportunity of enquiring of Mr. McDuffee whilst he was here, whether or not there would be such a bill before the House. I spoke with him in Washington respecting the salaries of those officers generally, on which he did not express a decided opinion, and cannot say what his sentiments are in the case. Mr. Dallas¹¹⁴ will, I believe, speak to him on the subject. I herewith enclose a statement of the present salaries, and showing the increase of business, in the Institution since they were established, which may be useful if an additional section should be offered to any bill, embracing an addition to the salaries. I do not know of any one who may make such a proposition, yet some one might be induced by a sense of duty to do so, if the necessity and propriety of it were suggested to him. I have sent copies of the enclosed to Dallas, Johnston and Stewart,¹¹⁵ and written to them respectively, on the subject. It is possible if Stewart should approve of the principle, he may submit the proposition, or apply to some one to submit it. It is not unlikely that you may have a confidential friend who might undertake the business. If the subject should be agitated in the House, a few more copies of the statement distributed among certain members might be beneficial; and, probably, some of the subordinate Clerks of the House, would, at your request, make a few Copies for the purpose. I shall forward more copies as soon as I can obtain them to some of my acquaintances in the House, but have not yet determined as to the individuals to whom I may send them. I think General Vance¹¹⁶ would be friendly to the measure, but I do not know that I shall write to him. Sutherland¹¹⁷ would, I think, favor it if he thought it would not injure him in his District or in the state at large. I do not suppose it would have this effect. It might perhaps have a contrary effect. I shall not write to him, unless I should be informed of his sentiments respecting it. If Members will reflect on those salaries, and compare them, even with those of Clerks in Washington who have not much labor and no responsibility, they must at once see there is no equality between them, and it is not therefore within the scope of a rational anticipation, that they will refuse to add to them, if the question be fairly presented to them.¹¹⁸

Though it is probable, that you will have a protracted Session, yet it may be too near a close to originate a bill, advancing the salaries, and carry it through both Houses, and I think the object cannot be effected before the adjournment in any other way, than by that which I have intimated. It has just occurred to me that if the Committee

¹¹³ George B. McDuffie representative from South Carolina.

¹¹⁴ George M. Dallas, then filling an unexpired term as United States Senator from Pennsylvania. Cf. McClure's, *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania*, I, 101.

¹¹⁵ Andrew Stewart, Representative from Pennsylvania.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Note 7.

¹¹⁷ Joel B. Sutherland, Representative from Pennsylvania.

¹¹⁸ The *Official Register* for 1838, p. 86, reports two new clerks at the Philadelphia Mint, but the salaries of the others remain unchanged. William Findlay is still Treasurer.

on Coins, and to amend the laws governing the Mint, should report a bill on the subject, it would be a proper one in which to embody a provision for the officers. I am acquainted with the Chairman, Mr. White,¹¹⁹ and may write to him touching the Case. The provisions of the existing laws, with such alterations as are necessary, ought to be consolidated in one.

Since I commenced writing the foregoing yours of the 24th came to hand. The observations of the Secretary on the subject, to which you refer, are satisfactory. I approve of public agents adhering strictly to law.

I think you are prudent in not taking your seat in the House before your health be perfectly restored. The common atmosphere at this season of the year, would not be favorable to its restoration, and the political atmosphere which is likely to pervade the House, might tend to produce excitement, not calculated to promote health. . . .

XXXIII.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, April 30, 1832.¹²⁰

Brother James,

I received a letter from Mr. Stewart, in which he mentions that he is confined to his room by indisposition, and as soon as his health will permit him to attend the House, he will be ready to aid my friends in support of a proposition to raise the salaries of the officers of the Mint. He adds "it appears to me to be so perfectly just and reasonable as to silence opposition."

Dallas says the statement I made him is clear and conclusive in favor of the measure, and will do what he can to promote it. I have written to Mr. White of your House, and enclosed a copy of the statement. If the session should continue as long as there is reason to expect there may be a prospect of my object being effected.

This, I believe, is about the usual time that the Secretary of War appoints persons to visit West point, and I have just thought it would be a pleasant excursion for me. If therefore, the appointments from Penn[sylvani]a are not already made, and the expenses of the visitors are borne by the Government, as I think they are, I wish you to signify to the Secretary¹²¹ that I would accept of the appointment, if it should not interfere with his arrangements to confer it. I am not aware that it would be legally incompatible with my present station, and if I should discover that I could not consistently with the public interests, absent myself from the Mint, about the period of the visitation, I would duly notify him so that one might be appointed in my place.

The object is not of such importance as to justify me in making a formal application for it, or for you to be very solicitous respecting it. I have to confess that I do not think myself well qualified to perform

¹¹⁹ Campbell P. White, Representative from New York.

¹²⁰ *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 68.

¹²¹ General Lewis Cass, of Michigan.

all the duties the appointment might require, but do not admit that I am *worse* qualified than many who have been appointed to perform them, and perhaps I might say somewhat *better* than several of them were. If I should receive the appointment I shall turn my attention to its duties, and not enter on them altogether unprepared.¹²² . . .

I have not been able to find a suitable situation here for our nephew Tom.

Considerable efforts will be made to form an union between the Clayites and Anti-masons, and if they succeed they will give a strong vote in this state, still I would not have any doubt but that Jackson would take the state unless some mad-caps should support a 2d Jackson ticket.

Whatever the leaders of the parties may do, I cannot think the general mass of each party will agree to an union.¹²³

Your brother,

Genl. James Findlay.

WM. FINDLAY.

P. S. I believe the Collector has not nor will not nominate my friend Steel, who feels grateful for your services in his favor.

W. F.

XXXIV.

THOMAS FINLEY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BALTO., 3d December, 1832.¹²⁴

Brother James,

I have just been called on and requested to write you in behalf of Major James P. Heath of this city, who is an applicant for the appointment [of] Sergeant at Arms.¹²⁵ He is the brother of the late Gen-[era]l Heath, and of Colo[nel] U. S. Heath, one of the Jackson electors from this City with whom I think you have the pleasure of a personal acquaintance. The Major, like the other Heaths, is a man of nerve and never shuns a battle, and his love of country has never been questioned. Of the duties that appertain to the office he seeks I am ignorant, but if they require a man of courteous manners and great firmness of purpose, Major Heath is admirably qualified to perform them. I know not the other candidate nor how far you may be committed, but I shall feel gratified if you can consistently with your views of duty aid Mr. Heath who like yourself may be charged with the sin of old federalism and has throughout been the steady support of Genl Jackson.¹²⁶

¹²² Cf. QUARTERLY I. 86.

¹²³ *Report Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1902, Vol. I, 442ff.

¹²⁴ *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 38.

¹²⁵ Thomas B. Randolph, of Virginia, secured the position. Cf. *Official Register* for 1833, p. 156.

¹²⁶ Many of the more radical of the "Old Federalists" supported Jackson in preference to John Quincy Adams, because the latter was the son of John Adams, whose break with Hamilton, in 1800, they could not forget or forgive. Others, particularly in the Middle States, supported Jackson, because, in 1816, he had written Monroe, asking him not to proscribe the Federalists in making his appointments to office. Cf. Sumner, *Jackson*, 62, 63.

XXXV.

JOHN FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

CHAMBERSBURG, DECR. 3d, 1832.¹²⁷*Brother James,*

I recd a letter last evening from my son Samuel (who is yet at Pittsburg) informing me that they were making great exertions at Pittsburg to have Mr. Lynch appointed post master there, and have Mr. Eichbaum remov[e]d and requested me to write to some of my friends in Washington in favor of Mr. Eichbaum. Whether Mr. Eichbaum was a Jackson man or a Clay man I know not, but I know that he is a good officer, and that the public often suffer by changes. Mr. Eichbaum was the bail of his Father in law Jno. Johnston, former postmaster, and has to pay a large am[oun]t for him as a defaulter. I know nothing of Mr. Lynch,¹²⁸ and will therefore not say anything about him, I would suppose if Mr. Wilkins¹²⁹ is friendly to Eichbaum, that he would not be remov[e]d, but if he is opposed to him, then I suppose he must go. If you should be in company with Mr. Wilkins, you might sound him on the subject. . . .

XXXVI.

THOMAS FINLEY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

BALTIMORE, 18th December, 1832.¹³⁰*Brother James,*

The President's Proclamation¹³¹ is very popular here, all parties approve of it. So far as I know there are no nullifiers in Maryland.

It is probable that your friends in Ohio may suppose from your having declined a re-election to the House of Representatives that you would decline the appointment of U. S. Senator were it offered you.

Now if this situation were in your offer, I do not know that you could put in your time more pleasantly or usefully. It is not so laborious as your present situation and is more suitable for a person of your time of life. I do not mean that you should electioneer or ask for it, but if you view the matter as I do—that you would [let] some friend in the Legislature know that you would not decline should it be the wish of the party that you should serve,¹³² Is Gen[era]l. Jessup at West Point?

¹²⁷ *Torrence Papers*, Box 8, No. 34.

¹²⁸ The *Official Register* for 1835 gives David Lynch as the Postmaster at Pittsburg.

¹²⁹ William Wilkins, Senator from Pennsylvania, who, in 1832, was nominated by the Democrats of that State as Jackson's running-mate, in preference to Van Buren. Cf. *Report Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1902, Vol. I, p. 445.

¹³⁰ *Torrence Papers*, Box 7, No. 36.

¹³¹ His famous proclamation of December 10, 1833. Cf. Richardson, *Messages and Papers*.

¹³² General Findlay was the candidate of the Anti-Jackson forces for Governor of Ohio in 1834, but was defeated. Cf. *QUARTERLY I*, p. 91.

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Merrick Whitcomb

CONTENTS.

- I. 1787, Oct. 29, TRANSFER FROM CUTLER & SARGENT TO
WILLIAM DUER.
- II. [1790] PETITION OF SCIOTO COMPANY TO CON-
GRESS OF UNITED STATES.
- III. 1789, Aug. 3, THE PARIS AGREEMENT.
- IV. 1789, Nov. 3, BILL OF SALE.
- V. 1789, Nov. 29, JOEL BARLOW TO COL. WILLIAM DUER.
- VI. 1789, Dec. 8, JOEL BARLOW TO COL. WILLIAM DUER.
1789, Dec. 29, JOEL BARLOW TO COL. WILLIAM DUER.
1790, Jan. 25, JOEL BARLOW TO COL. WILLIAM DUER.
- VII. 1789, Dec. 31, JOEL BARLOW TO M. BOULOGNE.
- VIII. 1790, Jan. 1, JOEL BARLOW TO M. BOULOGNE.
- IX. 1790, Sept. 11, COMMISSION OF BENJAMIN WALKER.
- X. 1790, Dec. 27, WILLIAM PLAYFAIR TO COLONEL DUER.
- XI. 1790, Dec. 21, JOEL BARLOW TO BENJAMIN WALKER.
1791, May 3, JOEL BARLOW TO BENJAMIN WALKER.
- XII. 1790, Mar. 9, LETTER OF RUFUS PUTNAM.
1790, May 1, LETTER OF RUFUS PUTNAM.
1790, May 28, LETTER OF RUFUS PUTNAM.
1790, May 31, LETTER OF RUFUS PUTNAM.
- XIII. 1790, May 31, ISAAC GUION TO WILLIAM DUER.
1790, June 2, ISAAC GUION TO WILLIAM DUER.
- XIV. 1795, Dec. 17, PETITION OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS.

INTRODUCTION.

The documents printed in this number of the *Quarterly* were selected from the *Gallipolis Papers* as the result of a study on the part of the editor, the fruits of which will appear in his forthcoming monograph concerning "The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis." The main facts connected with the above subject are pretty well known to all students of American history, and to the general reading public of Ohio. It is not proposed to give by means of the documents herein printed a connected account of the Scioto transactions. But it is hoped that the contents of this number of the *Quarterly* will serve to throw into relief certain of the more important phases of that affair; that they will present to the mind of the reader a succession of pictures showing the various aspects of the Scioto speculation at certain periods in its development. By giving a few words of introduction of each document printed an endeavor has been made to explain it and its relation to the series as a whole. This method has been followed in preference to the more cumbersome one of giving frequent annotations in the form of footnotes. It is to be hoped that the explanation given will prove sufficiently full to enable the documents to be read with understanding. Concerning the documents now printed it is perhaps well to say that with a single exception, the petition of the French settlers to the Ohio Co., they are all copies of the originals and not the original papers.

This collection of "Gallipolis Papers," consisting of three volumes, was given to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio by Robert Clark, John Marshall Newton and Eugene F. Bliss. The material was collected principally by Mr. Newton, with the intention of writing in full a history of the French settlement at Gallipolis, but the work was unfinished at the time of his decease. Many of the copies of both French and English documents, and the translations of a large portion of the former, furnished to Mr. Newton, appear in many instances to have been made without the requisite care, or by persons not thoroughly versed in one or the other of the two languages. Subsequently, other French manuscripts in this collection were translated by Mr. Bliss, and the arrangement of the entire collection was his work.

Theodore T. Belote.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

April 26, 1907.

I.

TRANSFER FROM CUTLER AND SARGENT TO WILLIAM DUER.

(Copy of a transfer from Cutler and Sargent to Col. Wm. Duer, the first documentary evidence we have of the existence of the Scioto Company. October 27, 1787, Cutler and Sargent completed negotiations with the Board of Treasury for nearly six million acres of western lands. There were two contracts drawn: one for the Ohio company, consisting of an absolute purchase of one and a half million acres, lying between the seventh and seventeenth ranges of townships along the Ohio River; the second contract was drawn in the names of Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, for themselves and associates. It consisted of an option to purchase all the lands lying between the Ohio and Scioto rivers and the seventeenth range of townships. By the terms of the transfer here given, Cutler and Sargent, for themselves and associates, transfer to Col. Duer and his associates a half interest in their right of pre-emption to the tract of land last mentioned above. Cutler and Sargent and their associates bound themselves to be jointly responsible with Duer and his associates for the profits and losses arising from the disposal of said tract, in Europe or elsewhere. For document, Cf. *Gallipolis Papers*, I, 99.)

Whereas by the Resolves of Congress of the 23d & 27th of July last the Rev'd Manasseh Cutler & Major Winthrop Sargent for themselves & associates procured the right of Pre-Emption of a certain tract of the Western Territory of the United States bounded as follows, viz: "A Tract of land bounded by the Ohio from the mouth of the Scioto River to the intersection of the Western boundary of the Seventh range of townships then surveying; thence by the Said boundary to the northern boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio, thence by a due west line to the Scioto, thence by the Scioto to the beginning." And whereas in pursuance of the Said Resolves the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent have on the 27th of October instant, entered into a contract with the honorable, the board of Treasury of the United States, as Agents for the Directors of the Ohio Company of associates for the purchase of a certain portion of the above described Tract of Land, bounded as follows "Beginning at the place above the Western Boundary Line of the seventh Range of Townships laid out by the authority of Congress Intersects the Ohio & extending thence along that River westerly to the place where the western line of the seventeenth Range of Townships to be laid out according to the Land ordinance of the 20th day of May one thousand seven hundred & Eighty-five, would intersect the Said River & extending thence Northerly upon the Western boundary line of the seventeenth Range of Townships, so far as that a line drawn due

East, to the Western boundary Line of the Said seventh range of Townships will with the other Lines of the Said described Tract include One Million & a half acres of Land, Exclusive of certain reservations as specified in the Deed." And whereas the Residue of the General Tract as described in the act of Congress of the 23d of July last remains wholly unappropriated & is subject to the disposal of the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent, who have accordingly entered into a contract for the purchase of the same on the 27th day of October Instant with the Honorable Board of Treasury of the United States, describing in the Said Contract the Boundaries of the Said Tract in the manner following to wit: "Beginning at the mouth of the Scioto on the Eastern Side thereof, thence running along the Ohio to the place where the Western Boundary Line of the seventeenth Range of Townships to be laid out according to the Land ordinance of Congress of the 20th May 1785: will touch the Said River, thence running Northerly on the Western Boundary Line of the Said seventeenth Range of Townships as far as the Western line of the said Tract so as aforesaid contracted for by the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent as Agents for the Directors of the Ohio Company & their associates shall or may extend thence due East to the Western Boundary line of the Said seventh Range of Townships, thence along the same to the Northern Boundary of the Tenth Township from the Ohio, thence due West to the river Scioto, & thence along the Said river to the place of beginning, being the whole of the Tract mentioned in the Resolution of Congress of the 23d of July last, except what is contracted for by the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent as Agent for the Directors of the Ohio Company; & their associates."

Be it known, that it is this day agreed betwixt the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent, for themselves, & others their associates, & William Duer of the State of New York for himself & others his associates, that they the said Cutler & Sargent do for themselves & associates, assign & make over to the said William Duer & his associates their Heirs & assigns one equal moiety of the tract last described: Provided always that the Prospective Parties to this writing shall be jointly & equally concerned in the disposal of the same either in Europe or America as circumstances will but admit of; and that they share equally in any profit or loss which may accrue in attempting to negotiate the Sale or Mortgage of the same, & in paying the purchase money due to the United States.

And it is hereby agreed upon & understood by the parties that the property in the residue of the general Tract, as above described, is to be considered as divided into thirty equal Parts or Shares, of which Thirteen Shares are the Property of William Duer, in which he may admit such associates as he may judge proper & thirteen shares in like manner the property of the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent; that the other four shares may be disposed of in Europe at the Direction of an Agent to be sent there for the purpose of negotiating a Sale or Loan as above mentioned; & if not as disposed of: to be equall divided amongst the Parties to this writing.

It is further agreed that the Said William Duer be & he hereby is fully authorized & empowered to negotiate a Loan on, or Sale of the above Lands in Holland or such other parts of Europe as may be found expedient; with power of appointing an agent to act under him in the said negotiation, agreeably to such instructions as he may receive for such purpose.—Provided always, & it is hereby understood & agreed on betwixt the parties that the Said William Duer shall from time to time (when so required) make known & communicate to the Said Winthrop Sargent & Manasseh Cutler the progress of the Said negotiation & the correspondence & instructions relative thereto, & it is also agreed betwixt the said parties that Royal Flint be & is agreed on by the Said Parties, as the present agent for undertaking the proposed negotiation under the superintendence of the said William Duer; & that if from the Death of the said Flint or other circumstances it may be proper to appoint another agent for the purpose above stated, the person so appointed shall be agreed on by the said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent & William Duer. And whereas the whole benefit of the Pre-Emption of the Residue of the Land as above described may depend on the punctual payment on the part of the Ohio Company, of one moiety of the purchase money of the First contracted for in their behalf, It is hereby agreed that the Said William Duer shall (if it be found necessary) advance on account of the Said contract One hundred thousand Dollars: provided that whatever sum so paid by the Said William Duer shall exceed thirty thousand dollars shall be reimbursed to the Said William out of the first monies which the Said Sargent & Cutler may receive for subscriptions.

For the performance of the different covenants in this agreement the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent & the Said William Duer, bind themselves & their respective heirs & assigns the one to

the other--& in Witness whereof have interchangeably set their hands & seals this twenty ninth day of October one thousand seven hundred & eighty seven.

Witness {	Manasseh Cutler	Manasseh Cutler	[SEAL]
	On the 26th Nov.	Winthrop Sargent	[SEAL]
	In presence of		
	Edward Harris.		
	John West.	[SEAL]	

II.

(PETITION OF SCIOTO COMPANY TO CONGRESS OF UNITED STATES).

(The date of this paper is uncertain. It was probably drawn early in 1790 when Joel Barlow, the agent of the Scioto company at Paris, was urging Duer to make arrangements with Congress, by means of which the company would be enabled to put in possession of their land, the first French emigrants who arrived in America. "By this course alone," said Barlow, "could the company insure for itself the public confidence of Europe, and at the same time the success of the Scioto speculation." See No. V, Barlow to Duer, Nov. 29, 1789. For document Cf. *Gal. Paps.* III, 109).

Whereas the Honorable Congress of the United States of America have ceded to certain persons a Tract of land on the borders of the Ohio & Scioto which the said persons agreed to pay in four equal payments & to receive possession of one-fourth part of the said tract of lands on the making of each of such payments & not before which condition tho' perfectly just in itself presents the purchasers from disposing of the lands in the manner which would be the most advantageous for them & for that portion of the U. S. where these lands are situated the purchasers who have subscribed the said contract beg leave to lay before the Congress the following arguments in favor of a change which the[y] demand to be made in the said bargain.

The quantity of acres being 3 millions & the payment of each fourth part amounting to the sum of 5 hundred thousand dollars it would be necessary for the persons contracting to pay 500,000 dollars before they can give possession of any portion of these lands & they must give possession on the other hand before they can be paid; an advance therefore on their part would be necessary of so large a sum which advance they are unable to make for that operation not having foreseen the necessity of it when the contract was entered into at which time they expected it might be possible to sell the lands

with sufficient rapidity or in sufficiently large portions to be enabled to make such payments without advancing the whole on their own part.

The purchasers with this view sent over an agent to Europe with powers to treat for the sale of these lands, he has in part succeeded but is obliged to sell them in such small quantities & to promise possession at so early a period that the company in America which treated for the lands after having been at great expense in beginning to people these lands sees itself under a necessity of abandoning with great loss their plan of abandoning [establishing] the colony which they have begun & which promises to be a very flourishing one but what is still worse of abandoning it before the eyes of all Europe, which are fixed on that establishment, unless it will please the Congress to grant the following request.

1st. That the Payments specified in the Convention already made be retarded — months.

2. That the Congress will give an order to their board of Treasury or the persons to whom such duty may belong to make out Patents of property for separate portions of the said Lands upon condition of being paid at the rate of one dollar an acre in place of $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dollar which is the price in paying 500,000 at a time which sum shall be reduced to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar an acre when the whole amount of dollars received shall amount to 500,000 then the land so given in possession to continue at the price of one dollar an acre.

3d. That for the surety of such payment a mortgage of $\frac{2}{3}$ in money shall be left on all lands so disposed of until the dollar an acre shall be paid which shall always be within the space of 6 months after the date of the Patent.

4: That this agreement shall stand good for the term of 3 years after which it shall cease & become null as if it had never existed except for the portions delivered & sold according to the above articles.

[5th.] 4th. All the other articles to be the same as they are already contained in the cession of these lands.

Such arrangement with the variations which perhaps may still be necessary would give that solidity to the affair which otherwise it never can have as the parts of the transaction would bear the proportion to each other that they ought whereas in their present state they bear no kind of proportion & as a sale of a quantity sufficient to pay 500,000\$ at a time is not to be expected in Europe & he who buys less can not be sure of getting possession.

III.

THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

(Translation of a copy of the agreement made in Paris August 3d, 1789, by which the Scioto company was organized in Europe. See No. V, Barlow to Duer, Nov. 29, 1789. For document Cf. *Gal. Paps.* III, Bk A, 40.)

Before the Counsellors of the King Notarys au Chalelet of Paris the undersigned have appeared.

M. Louis Marthe, Marquis of Gouy D'arsy, Chevalier, High Bailiff of the sword, Lieutenant General in reversion of the French *vexin*, Chevalier of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, ancient assistant Colonel of the Cuirassiers, Member of the National Assembly, living in Paris Rue de Provence at the corner of the Faubourg mons martre Parish St. Eustache.

M. Claude Odille Joseph Barond, Esquire, living in Paris, Rue neuve des Petits Champs, Parish St. Roche.

M. Antoine de St. Didier, merchant, in Paris dwellin therein Rue Royal Barriere Blanche, Parish St. Pierre de mons martre.

M. Jean Francois Noël Maheas Esquire, Comptroller of the Pay Office of the domains of the King, living in Paris Rue des Vieux Augustins, Parish St. Eustache.

M. Francois Troussier Guibert merchant in Paris dwelling there Rue de Bretagne au Marais, Parish St. Nicholas des Champs.

M. Guillaume Louis Joseph, Chevalier de Caquelon Esquire dwelling in Paris, Rue de Renard St. Messi, Parish St. Messi.

M. William Playfair, English Engineer, living in Paris, Rue Culture St. Catherine, Hotel de Lamoignon Parish St. Paul and

M. Joel Barlow Esquire, dwelling ordinarily in the City of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, one of the United States of America, being at present in Paris staying at the Hotel d'Angleterre, Rue Traversiere Parish St. Roch.

The said Mr. Barlow has stated that several proprietors of lands situate between the rivers Ohio and Scioto in America of the extent of three millions or thereabouts of English arpens under the name of acres, have the intention of selling the said lands and have authorized Mr. Barlow to go into France to announce there and to negotiate this sale at the good pleasure of the government ; that the favorable situation of their lands, following the testimony of several persons known and named in a pamphlet translated from the English original, printed

at Salem in America 1787, and the facilities which the proprietors are disposed to give to the purchasers for the payment of the price, can make as regards the acquisition of these lands an affair which promises great advantages; that a single individual could with difficulty be charged with it, to make all the payments and conduct all the operations; that it is only a society which could be in condition to unite the resources and means proper to assure the success of so great an enterprise—and that he proposes to the parties appearing, to take into consideration this affair and this association, upon which there has been made and agreed upon the following :

ARTICLE 1ST.

The aforesaid Marquis de Gouy d'Arsy, Barond, de St. Didier, Maheas, Troussier, Guibert, le Chevalier de Caquelon, Plaifair and Barlow associate themselves to make the purchase of the said three millions or thereabouts of English acres of land situate between the rivers Ohio and Scioto in America, likewise for the improvement and the settlement to be made partially and progressively of the portions of said lands which the said associates shall judge proper to place under cultivation and under the scheme of the Company of the Scioto.

ARTICLE 2ND.

In order to begin to make the payments for the purchase and opening, there shall be created by the Company at the good pleasure of the Government eight thousand shares which shall be numbered from one to 8000, not payable to the bearer, but which on the contrary shall be drawn up in the name of each proprietor of the sum of a thousand livres payable at the times which shall be determined after those taken for the payment of the price of this acquisition of which the list set forth by the parties remains joined to the minute of these presents—Each proprietor shall be able to negotiate them by an indorsement to the profit and in the name of the purchaser, who shall be bound to have himself registered, within three months from the date of the indorsement to his profit, in the Bureau which shall be established by the Company, upon a register which the cashier shall hold to this effect. It is expressly agreed that this indorsement shall not give to the purchaser any recourse of guaranty against the preceding indorsers but solely against his vender and during a delay of three months only, reckoning from the date of the said indorsement and that mentioned thereof shall be made in the aforesaid shares.

ARTICLE 3RD.

The said shares shall be drawn up and printed conformably to the model which has been now shown by the parties, and which is at their requisition joined to the minutes of these presents after having been signed and marked by them in the presence of the notarys undersigned, they shall be signed by two of the associates in the name of the Company, the Cashier shall give receipts for them, they shall be delivered by him only to the associates above named by inscribing in the body of each share the name of him to whom it shall be given and who shall have paid to the Treasury of the Company, the sum total of each share. As to those of the associates who shall make payments only at the periods fixed by this table hereto joined, these shall be delivered to them by the Cashier and acknowledgment conformed to the model hereto joined and at the foot of which shall be the receipts by the Cashier in accordance with the payments which shall be made; the interest which each share shall produce shall be paid to the Treasury of the Company until the period of the 1st of April 1792 for which purpose there shall be made by the Cashier mention of the time of each payment; and when a share shall be entirely paid for, there shall be delivered to the Treasury an act conformably to the model; above this interest at five per cent there shall be profit for the proprietors of shares of $\frac{8}{1000}$ on each share, to reckon from the first of April 1792.

ARTICLE 4TH.

As soon as there shall be a quarter of the said shares which shall have been taken by the associates, as making the payment, or the bond, of which mention has just been made, the contract of purchase of the said land shall be accepted by the Company of the said associates who name the said Sirs, Maheas and Playfair to take dès à présent en communication the powers of Mr. Barlow and confer with him upon the clauses, charges and conditions of the sale, the price and the times of payment, and to take all measures which will seem to them useful and necessary, upon the condition on their part of making their report at the earliest period possible, in the Assembly of the said Sirs, associates.

It is stipulated that if it shall happen that any associate lets pass a delay of three months, reckoning from this day without having paid or made the bond to pay at least a twelfth of this quarter of shares, the Company shall be canceled as far as he is concerned as if it had

never existed, and without damages or interest at the expiration of the said delay after a simple summons which shall be made to him in the name of the other associates, by due effort and diligence of the Cashier, at the domicile chosen by this present compact, without there being any need of having pronounced this cancellation in a court of justice and in this event the other associates shall have the liberty, either of agreeing that they alone shall compose the Company, or of admitting to it another person, who shall be chosen by plurality of voices by the deliberations in the assembly of the said Sir associates.

ARTICLE 5TH.

There shall be taken immediately after the signature of the contract the measures necessary to put them in possession of the said lands and to have of them an exact survey with an appraisement of its value by the square league, or even by a township less considerable, according to the nature of the soil and its situation more or less near either to rivers or to townships already inhabited and cultivated in order to be able to determine what price the acre could be ceded and given up to the owners of shares who shall prefer to have lands by themselves rather than remain associated with the other share holders without there being the power to increase this valuation among the proprietors except by reason of clearings, improvements, plantations, enclosures, buildings, betterments which shall have been made at the expense of the Company after the said valuation of the lands of which the shareholders wish to be put into possession.

As to the price of the portions of the said lands which persons shall desire to buy, who shall not be owners of shares, the Company may place it at such a sum as it shall judge proper without being obliged to subject it to valuation and without being able also to depart from it in order to sell it lower, unless after the Company shall be freed from the whole price of the purchase, and discharged from the sum total of the loans which it shall be able to make, and after consent given by deliberations had among the associates.

ARTICLE 6TH.

The proprietor of shares who shall have made payments in advance or who shall give sureties, which the Company shall have accepted for the execution of the said payments in advance shall have the right to demand to be put in possession of a portion of the said lands in

proportion to his shares which he shall bring to the treasury of the Company in payment of the said lands at the valuation price, and the Company may accede to his demand before it shall be freed towards the sellers from the payment of the price, provided it be discharged toward the lenders.

ARTICLE 7TH.

The time of the payments being known by a statement joined to the present, each proprietor of shares will be held to satisfy it with promptness in the terms which it prescribes in order to spare himself as well as the society the trouble which delays occasion, consenting unanimously if it happens that any one fails in his engagement after having entered upon payment, that the sale of his shares shall be made at his own peril and risk, one month after the expiration of the time without there being any need of having recourse to the courts of law. The shareholder shall be informed of the sale of his shares and of the result, of which there shall be an account kept for him, because he consents likewise, in order not to occasion loss to the Company, to make up the balance of his subscription in such manner as the Company shall exact, if the sale of his shares shall not satisfy it.

ARTICLE 8TH.

The said gentlemen appearing nominate to hold the funds of the Company, M. L. Seline banker in Paris dwelling there Rue Beaubourg, who shall exercise the functions of Cashier without limitations of time and by keeping conformably to the ordinances of commerce, registers of receipts and expenses and Mr. Playfair to keep a register of control of said funds which shall be signed by two of the associates.

ARTICLE 9TH.

The Company shall last for nine, for eighteen or for twenty seven years and it may, however, be dissolved whether at the end of the ninth or at the end of the eighteenth year only as the Company shall be entirely freed not only from the price of the purchase principal and interest, but also from all borrowed money which it may have had from others than the associates.

After this liberation at the end of one or the other of these times the associates shall make a first division of the lands which shall remain to them unless they shall deem it proper to agree unanimously upon a prolongation of their Company for a time to be determined.

The amount of funds which each associate shall be found to have in the enterprise, whether in shares which shall still be in possession or in receipt for cash which he shall have paid into the treasury of the Company with the formalities herein after explained, shall regulate the amount of land which shall be given over to him according to the valuations of which mention is made in Article 5 above, without any increase except by reason of expenses of clearings and other expenses of this nature detailed in the same Article 5, above, what shall still remain of the land after this first division, shall be divided equally among all the associates as profit.

ARTICLE 10TH.

During the life of the said Company there shall be made every year in the month of July a general account of the treasury in order to show its condition and that of the Company affairs.

Two thirds of the sums which shall arise from the payments for shares, three fourths of those which shall arise from the price of the sales of the lands, made to others than shareholders, shall be employed yearly for the payment of the price of the purchase and for the payment of sums borrowed either of other persons, or of the associates, principal and interest. Even to full payment the surplus shall be used in the expenses of improvements and clearings and all outlays necessary for this purpose, deductions being first made for the rent of the places where the Company shall hold its meetings, for the employment of the Cashier and of the clerks and for office expenses; The profits which then shall be found, after these deductions, reckoning from April 1st 1792, shall be divided among the said Sir associates conformably to the proportions determined hereinafter. It is agreed that there shall be comprised in the funds on the part of the associates, in the treasury, and for the affairs of the Company, only so far as the Cashier shall have been authorized to receive them by a deliberation held with all the associates and that without this deliberation, the proprietors of funds shall not be able to exact any interest, nor pretend to have by reason of said funds a right to share in the lands at the dissolution of the Company.

ARTICLE 11TH.

The general account of the Treasury having been rendered: two months after there shall be called a meeting of all the owners of shares who shall have been registered as is mentioned in Article 2 above,

and who shall not have taken lands in exchange for their shares only to show to them at what point the Company shall be relatively to its deliberations towards the venders and the lenders ; and to let them know the amount of land it shall have improved, the progress and product of the improvements and in order to be summoned to this meeting one must be the owner of fifty shares.

The whole has been thus agreed and determined between the parties who for the execution of these presents have chosen domicil each one in his dwelling at Paris above mentioned anything to the contrary notwithstanding.

Made and sealed the said day and year and passed upon at Paris and dwelling above said of the parties as regards Messrs the said Marquis de Gouy d'Arsy, Baron and Playfair the third of August, as regards the said Sirs, Troussier, Guibert, le Chevalier de Caquelon and Barlow the Eighteenth of August, and as regards the said Sirs, de St. Didier and Maheas the thirty-first of the same month of August, the year 1789 and have signed the minutes of these presents remaining with M. Rameau one of the notaries undersigned.

IV.

BILL OF SALE.

(Translation of a copy of the Bill of Sale passed between Joel Barlow as agent of the Scioto associates in America and the newly organized Scioto company in Paris. See Doc. No. III and also No. V, Barlow to Duer, Nov. 29, 1789. For document Cf. Gal. Paps. III, Bk. A, 72.

3D NOV. 1789. BEFORE THE COUNSELLORS OF THE KING, NOTARIES IN THE
CHATELET OF PARIS UNDERSIGNED.

Was present Mr. Joel Barlow, Esquire, dwelling ordinarily in the City of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, one of the Thirteen United States of North America, being at present in Paris lodged in the Hotel d'Angleterre, Rue Traversier St. Honore, Parish of St. Roch, and stipulating in these presents in the name and by virtue of special powers, which he has proved to the purchasers hereinafter named, of Manasseh Cutler of Major Winthrop Sargent and William Duer of the City of New York, all three sole proprietors associated in virtue of the grant made by the American Congress of the country wherein is taken the object of the sale hereinafter.

The which Sieur Barlow in the said name and by these presents has sold, ceded and abandoned in full and free ownership and enjoyment, but by no means to take possession and enjoyment thereof except at the times and in the manner hereinafter stipulated to the Society formed between the said Sir Barlow and others to the effect of the present purchase under the name and style of the Company of the Scioto, following an act drawn by Mr. Rameau and associate notaries at Paris, the third of August last and accepted, purchasers for the said Society by M. William Playfair, English Engineer dwelling in Paris, Rue Neuve des Petits Champs Parish of St. Roch No. 162 at this present.

The superficial tract of three millions of acres or English arpens to be taken in the land situate between the Rivers Ohio and Scioto of North America—beginning from confluence of the rivers Ohio and Scioto towards the west along the Ohio, as far as the west line of the seventeenth range of townships and its prolongation towards the north upon the said western line of the seventeenth Range of townships as far as this line must be prolonged to make the said quantity of three millions of acres and from such point to the east as far as the river Scioto, and thence along the river to the place whence the boundary shall have begun. To render these bounds more clear and intelligible the parties have produced an engraved copy of the plan, which has been prepared, of the country where is to be taken the tract of these three million acres, following the limits herein above, and the plan wherein this tract is marked in blue, has been annexed to the minutes of these presents after having been seen by the parties, the which has been accepted in the presence of the said indorsers.

However, observing that by the terms of the grant, there is or ought to be in the extent of each township of Six English Square Miles, certain lots of land reserved for public schools, or destined for other public purposes according to the orders of Congress, it is well understood that these lots of land thus reserved or destined shall not be comprised in the present sale, but that if, deduction made for these portions, the land which shall remain in the extent above limited shall not make up the above mentioned amount of three million acres, what shall be wanting, shall be made up for the good of the society out of the lands situate to the north of the possessions of the Company of the Ohio—and to the amount of the land herein above described.

The price of the present sale has been fixed and agreed at the

rate of Six livres Tournois per acre, which makes for the whole three million acres at the rate above mentioned the sum of eighteen millions livres Tournois which Messrs . . . bind themselves and their associates present and future to pay without interest moreover, at the times hereinafter fixed to wit :

fifteen hundred thousand livres at the end of December of the	
present year <i>i. e.</i> ,	1,500,000
fifteen hundred thousand livres at the end of April in the coming year, .	1,500,000
fifteen hundred " " " " " " said year, 1790,	1,500,000
" " " " " " April, 1791,	1,500,000
three millions " " " " " " September of the	
same year 1791,	3,000,000
three millions more " " " " " " April, 1792,	3,000,000
" " " " " " " 1793,	3,000,000
and " " " " " " " 1794,	3,000,000
<hr/>	
Total equal to said price,	18,000,000

Notwithstanding this fixing of times the Society purchasing may anticipate its payments for such portions as it may please, and all their payments shall be made at the choice of the said society, either in ready money or in bills of the United States of America as in that country, thus under the name of its "Domestic Liquidation" the whole comes into the hands of the said Sir Barlow or of his principals at the treasury of the society or at such other place as shall be arranged by the Sieur Barlow, it being well understood that for what shall be paid of the said price in paper of the nature of that above designated this paper shall be valued at ninety livres in the hundred, that is to say, that a hundred livres in value of this paper shall only represent ninety livres silver, and the American dollar in silver shall be counted at five livres five sols.

As soon as and not before the said payments are remitted arising from the price of the present sale Mr. Barlow binds his principals towards the society purchasing or its assigns to put them in possession and enjoyment of an amount of the three million acres proportionate to the amount of the said payment at the aforesaid rate of six livres Tournois per acre, and these acres thus gradually paid for, shall at first be located upon the river Ohio at the east line of the seventeenth Township Range to the twentieth range at the west and at the north; following the arrangements marked upon the plats joined to the minutes of these presents, in the order of the remittances proportionately to the payments herein above fixed.

The said society may moreover resell all or a part of the three million acres, before the times herein above fixed for the payment of their price, provided that the said society gives up to the Sieur Barlow, under the title of pledge the agreements of the under purchasers, but the said Sieur Barlow shall give back to the said society these agreements when it shall pay to him their entire value. . . .

At this transaction were present, and are parties to the very high and very mighty Seigneur and Monseigneur Louis Marthe de Gouy Mr. d'Arsy Lieutenant General of the Government of the Isle of France, Colonel of Cavalry, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis and deputy from the island of St. Domingo in the National assembly, dwelling in Paris Rue de Provence, Parish St. Eustache. And M. Claude Odille Joseph Barond, Esquire dwelling in Paris, Rue Neuve des petit Champs, Parish St. Roch. All interested in the Society of the Scioto.

Who while approving and confirming the engagements herein above contracted by their co-associates for their Society have by these presents appointed for their attorneys, general and special, Mr. Playfair and Mr. Barlow herein above named and M. Jean Antoine Chais of Soisson, advocate to the Parliament to whom jointly and severally they have given power to resell all or a part of the said three million acres at the best price, terms or conditions of receiving the price thereof, or to assign it all or in part, and to go out of the Society with respect to the principals of the Sieur Barlow, to give for this purpose every acquittance, consent, subrogation and to disseize in consequence the Society of its rights of property over the object of resale in favor of their purchasers and generally to do for the Ease and accomplishment of the said sale all which the said Sir attorneys appointed shall judge most fit for the advantage of the said Society, to substitute in the present powers one or several others associates.

And for the execution of these presents the parties have chosen domiciles and names in their dwellings in the aforesaid four places anything to the contrary notwithstanding.

Made and done at Paris and the residence of the parties:

November 3d, 1789 before noon, have signed the minutes of these presents remaining with M. Farmain one of the notaries above mentioned.

Signed Farmain
pour Copie: Signed F. M. T. de Barth.

V.

(JOEL BARLOW TO COL. WILLIAM DUER.)

(Copy of the letter from Joel Barlow to Col. Wm. Duer, Paris, Nov. 29, 1789. Barlow was appointed agent of the Scioto associates in America and sent to Europe to negotiate a loan on, or sale of, the Scioto tract of land. Barlow arrived in Paris the last of June, 1788, but for twelve months he accomplished little towards his aims. When he wrote the letter here published, however, he had enlisted the aid of Wm. Playfair, an Englishman, long resident in Paris and well acquainted with French ways. As the result of their acquaintanceship Barlow was enabled to announce to Duer the formation of the Scioto company of associates in Paris and the sale to that company of the American company's preemption of lands in the west. He describes the future plan of the company, the hope for success, etc. Finally he begs Duer to do his part in America to make arrangements with Congress by which the first emigrants to arrive might be put into possession of their lands and not allowed to know that they had at first bought only a mere preemption. For the result of this advice on Barlow's part, see No. II. For document Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 133.)

PARIS, NOV. 29, 1789.

My Dear Sir :

I have now the pleasure to inform you that the contract was completed on the 3d of this month. It is for the sale of 3 millions of acres—the price of six livres the acre, to be paid either in cash or in American funds at 90 per cent, at the choice of the purchasers. It is probable that the greater part will be paid in the American French debt—or those Bonds given for money borrowed of the government of France; some however will be paid in our domestic debt, & some in money. For such part as shall be paid in American paper, I have fixed the exchange at 105 sols the dollar, the price of the acre, being 120 sols to be paid in paper at 90 per cent, will require $133\frac{1}{3}$ —the commissions, douceurs to public and private persons & all the expenses here will amount to about 15 per cent, this deducts 20 sols from the $133\frac{1}{3}$, the price then of the acre to us will be $113\frac{1}{3}$ sols or one dollar & $8\frac{1}{3}$ sols, this will make us a profit of upwards of 1,200,000 dollars. The payments as fixed in contract are as follows :

End of Decem. 1789	1,500,000 livres
“ “ April 90	1,500,000 “
“ “ Sep. “	1,500,000 “
“ “ April 91	1,500,000 “
“ “ Sep. “	3,000,000
“ “ April 92	3,000,000
“ “ April 93	3,000,000
“ “ April 94	3,000,000

18,000,000 livres

The causes that have induced me to fix the bulk of the payments so late are various ; I cannot now detail them without sending you more papers than you would be willing to read, & more than I am able to pay postage for. But I have good reason to believe that the payments will be approached & the whole business finished within the next year. 1st I am preparing an arrangement with the royal treasury which I believe will give us the greater part of the sum from thence in the American Bonds above mentioned. 2d The object of the company as I mentioned to you in my last, is an immediate settlement, by the sale of portions to individuals & by sending cultivators in the service of the company. This they expect will raise the reputation of the lands to such a degree that they will sell them all off in the course of one year at a great profit, as the first of these modes, that which respects the treasury, cannot be certain as yet, my great reliance is on the second which cannot fail, if we give it proper facility on our part. The present circumstances of the kingdom are favorable, the subject is popular, many portions are already sold, & the people preparing to embark in January, & as I mentioned to you before, Maj. Gen. Duportail & Maj. Rochefontain give me reason to hope they will go at the head of the establishment. Now although my contract, in the letter of it, does not depend on the success of this or any other enterprise, yet in such great affairs no remedy can be had for any breach that a company may make either from choice or necessity, the only assurance against a violation of their engagements is never to suffer them to conceive it for their interest to violate them, for this purpose the utmost prudence & energy are still necessary on both sides the water, the managers here & agents going with the people will be perfectly in our interest. I have written to the gentlemen at Muskingum pointing out their duty in the strongest terms possible, which I wish you would enforce by your authority without delay, by writing them your reflections on this subject. I have advised them without delay, 1st to ascertain the boundary between the 17th & 18 ranges of townships, at least the southern part of it--as these people will be there by the last of Feb'ry—to begin their operations opposite the great Knehawa on the 18th range— 2d to build them there a few huts & ovens, at least for the accommodation of 100 persons,— 3d. To send a person of activity from their settlement to Alexandria to make all the preparations on the route & at the fort for their reception & journey to the Scioto, & to wait at Alexandria to conduct them. For it cannot be too much insisted on, that the success of their sale

of acres here, consequently their payments to us, will depend almost entirely on the accounts written back by the first people that arrive. It is an immense undertaking to the poor creatures who adventure in it, a situation in which all the passions are alive to the slightest impressions. They who lead the way trust their lives & fortunes to the representations that I make to them, the evidence is slight, it will be strengthened or destroyed in the minds of those who are still to be engaged, by the testimony of those who first arrive. If the first 100 persons should find things easy & agreeable as it is in our power to make them with a little attention, the stream of emigration will be irresistible ; 20,000 people will be on those lands in 18 months & our payments will be made in 12. Do my friend exercise your rapid imagination for a moment in writing to those gentlemen—the subject lies with weight on my mind ; it is tho' small, one of the most essential services that now remains to be done. Whenever you shall know the complication of difficulties I have struggled with bringing this unweildly business thus far, you will excuse the warmth of my entreaties, & believe that they are founded on the maturest reflection as well as on the most ardent desire to serve the interest of the concern. The object which I recommended to you in my last is likewise in my opinion indispensable. I enclose here a duplicate of that part of my letter, lest you may not have rec'd it. It is the only possible means of bringing a mere preemption into that shape in which it could be fairly offered for certain sale. It is absolutely necessary to us, it is the only reliance that the first purchasers of portions can have for their title. The Secretary of Finance will certainly see the interest of the United States in making that arrangement, as it is their object to sink their debt by the sale of lands, as they are perfectly secure in this case as in the other, as it gives us the means of succeeding in the whole operation, & as the success of this will be followed by other sales to the extinguishment of a great part of the debt. I must add as a farther reason why you should not fail of making arrangements recommended, that I have proceeded, as though it were already done, by giving the company here power to resell portions before they make their first payment on the contract, requiring as my security the deposit of the payments for these portions ; this they have already acted on to a considerable amount. It is further to be considered that it is possible that their first payment will not be made to us in season for us to make our first to Congress before the people will arrive ; should the people not be put in possession of their small

purchases on their arrival, we are ruined. It will be but for a few acres, I imagine not above 5,000, that those who shall arrive in the first ship will have purchased; the sec'y can run no risk in allowing them to take possession of so small a portion before it is paid for, as he can not suppose we would sacrifice the advantage of all our contracts for the sake of cheating Congress out of so small a sum. But if no other means will do, you must make a deposit of 5 or 10,000 \$ to get possession of such a number of acres opposite the mouth of the great Knehawa, to be afterward reckoned towards our contract. Dispatch such leave of entry to your friends in the West but not to let the European Settlers know the manner of this proceeding, for they will not know, except the agent, but the lands were all our own before. I hope you will be of my opinion on these subjects, & that nothing will prevent the people being put perfectly at their ease on their arrival. The expenses of the objects above mentioned will be paid by the agent of the people the moment they arrive but the charges must be moderate. If the gentlemen in the West are too poor to make the advances, which is possible, you must contrive to make them from New York. It will be but for a few days, the sacrifice small, & the object infinite. I can think of no arguments in addition to those I have formerly used to induce you to write to me, my reflections on that subject are painful beyond description. Mr. Dixon, to whom my friends have been requested to address their Letters, is about leaving London. Be kind enough to address to the care of Mr. Henry Broomfield Merchant, No. 1 Sirelane, London.

VI.

(JOEL BARLOW TO COLONEL WILLIAM DUER.)

(The following are copies of three letters of Barlow to Duer, dated Paris, Dec. 8, and 29, 1789, and Jan. 25, 1790. In these letters Barlow describes the further progress of affairs in France after the formation of the Scioto company there, and the arrangement for the departure of the first party of emigrants, etc. For these letters Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 135.

PARIS, 8 DEC., 1789.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed are duplicates of such communications lately made as appears to me the most important & the subjects of them indispensable. Since the date of my last everything goes on very well, the company are now in treaty for sales to the amount of a million of livres; they

will probably be finished in a few days—many who have finished their purchases are impatient to be gone—some have already left Paris for Havre where they will wait the arrangements for their embarkation. I think Maj. Rochefontaine as agent will sail early in January with about 100 persons—there cannot be a better man for the purpose. Every step that this business takes impresses with new force on my mind the necessity of attending to every object which I have recommended to you & to the Gentleman in the West. Let nothing my dear friend, prevent their being accomplished. I fear that my letters for the Western country will not arrive in season for a person to be sent from thence to Alexandria. If you are acquainted with any Man of Business at that Port I wish you would write requesting that every succour be given to the people on their arrival. The reward will be certain & you may promise it with safety.

PARIS, 29 DEC., 1789.

My Dear Sir,

This goes by a Ship to Alexandria which carries about sixty settlers for the Scioto. Mr. Boulonge a person well recommended to me goes as their temporary agent till the arrival of Rochefontaine which will be in a month after them. I have not failed to take every arrangement in my power to secure their good reception & that degree of happiness which will secure our success. I feel a great degree of confidence likewise that nothing will be omitted either by you or our friends in the West. I hope very soon to put it in your power to make our first payment to Congress, as [our] bargain I believe will be concluded within the next month for the sale of half a million of acres. . . . Many reputable & wealthy families will go out for the Scioto in a short time. Should the first people find themselves happy I have no doubt but they would be followed in a few years by half a million of other adventurers. The idea is new in France, it was extremely difficult to set it a going, but there are cases which may extend it almost beyond calculation.

I have not yet received any letter nor any necessary information since I left you. It is not my personal feelings alone which are affected by this circumstance. The business has required that I should know the situation & intentions of the concern, the progress of the surveys, the disposition of the savages & a thousand other things that I might determine what measures to take & what promises I might safely make to facilitate the operations of the first settlement.

Besides it is difficult for me to keep this circumstance from being known, so as to endanger the confidence that People of all classes ought to have in my representation. For what confidence would you place in a stranger who should pretend to be the agent of the company, which has totally neglected him for over two years?

When Rochefontaine arrives I shall hope to get some information, until then I shall despair of being able to know whether the Western company still exists or not.

PARIS, 25th JAN'Y, 1790.

My Dear Sir,

Enclosed is a duplicate of my last in addition to which, order the Treasurer to draw on me for one hundred thousand livres—the affair goes extremely well; it is true the payments are not made, but they certainly will be. The sales increase rapidly.

Dont for God's sake fail to raise money enough to put the people in possession—make any sacrifice rather than fail in this essential object. If it fails we are ruined. All our fortunes & my character will be buried under the ruins. I know I have run a risk in suffering the people to go till I could get possession, especially as I could get no information from you, but the risk was absolutely necessary, and the proposition to the Secretary of finance which I have often mentioned is so reasonable that it cannot be rejected. Tell him that 20 millions of acres may be sold here in two years after it is known that these people are quietly in possession of their lands. You can certainly among all your Connexions raise one or two hundred thousand dollars for a few months. I pledge the faith of an honest Man for the payment. If necessary draw on me at Ninety days for a second hundred thousand Livres—advise me of it the earliest possible. I shall be more particular in a few days.

VII.

JOEL BARLOW TO M. BOULONGE.

(Letter dated Paris, Dec. 31, 1789. Boulonge was a temporary agent of the Scioto company and accompanied the first party of emigrants to Alexandria, Virginia. See No. VI, Barlow to Duer, Jan. 25, 1790. For this letter Cf, *Gal. Paps.* I, 137).

To Mr. Boulonge,

Sir,—It is probable that the agent of the Scioto Company will find employment for you for one year or more after his arrival in

America. Any arrangement of this kind will however be left with him, as he alone will be responsible for whatever shall be done under his agency. Previous to his arrival I shall expect you to occupy yourself wholly in promoting the happiness & convenience of the emigrants who go in the same ship with you, and likewise of any others who may be addressed to your care previous to the arrival of the agent. On the passage you will encourage the people & be their interpreter. On your arrival at Alexandria, you will endeavor to see them conveniently lodged, assist them in procuring necessaries, & if the American agent should have arrived from the Ohio, you will after resting the people a convenient time, assist him in moving them on the route that he shall think proper. But, should such agent not have arrived, you will detain the people & stay with them yourself at Alexandria, while you send a man express with my dispatches to the Ohio. You will then keep the people quiet as possible & wait the arrival of the agent from the Ohio, or of the Agent from Europe. On the arrival of either of these you will follow his direction, & do your utmost endeavor to accomplish the great object of the Company, which is to render these people as happy as possible, & to provide for the future prosperity of an extensive & increasing settlement.

Reposing the fullest confidence in your fidelity & prudent conduct, I have the honor to be, Sir, your ob'dt & very humble servt.

VIII.

JOEL BARLOW TO M. BOULOGNE.

(Letter dated, Paris, Jan. 1st, 1790. See No. VII. For this letter Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 155.)

PARIS, JANUARY 1ST, 1790.

Mr. Boulogne,

Sir,—You are requested to inform the Gentlemen proprietors of lands who go under your care to the Scioto & who embark in the first ship, that, in consideration of their patience and good conduct since their departure from Paris, and as an inducement to them to persevere in so generous and glorious an enterprise, I give and grant to each of them a house lot within the city to be laid out opposite the mouth of the great Knehawa River, and a right in the city commons, which house-lots shall be contiguous to each other, laid in two squares near the centre of the city, which two squares shall be called by the following names, *premier coup and etrenne* or such other names as you

may think more suitable to the circumstances. Send me a list of these proprietors names before you leave Havre, & I will forward their deeds by the agent in chief (add to this list the names of non-proprietors & of the women and children). As it must be some time after your arrival before the gentlemen can have their lands surveyed to them in the other municipalities, and as they will now be proprietors of one compact spot of land in the centre of the city, and of a right in the large common that surrounds it, I advise them to make their first harvest there in a large common field. And by agreement among themselves every proprietor will enjoy his proportion of the harvest according to the number of hands he employs. In this situation, their labors will be more cheerful, they will inspire each other & instruct each other in the noble art of cultivating the lands.

Assure the gentlemen, my dear Sir, of my best wishes & prayers for their happiness. My heart goes with them. I consider them as the fathers & founders of a nation—their names will not only be carved on the bark of trees along the banks of the Ohio, engraved on the stones that shall form the walls of the future city—but they shall be written in the hearts of their posterity and not one of them shall be forgotten. My first pleasure on returning to my native country shall to be to visit them in their habitations, find them happy on their own soil, & take them by the hand as countrymen, brothers & friends.

As they have passed the tender scene of bidding adieu to all that was dear to them in their own country, believing they should be happier in mine; and, as their choice has been founded on the representations which I have made to them, I feel myself in a great measure responsible for their success. Though I have made every arrangement in my power for their agreeable reception & easy progress on their route, though after this their happiness must chiefly depend on their own industry & prudence; yet, as a duty which I still owe them I will send them by the agent some advice relative to that system which I conceive will be most suitable to their new situation.

Wishing you & them a prosperous voyage & a happy arrival in your second country.

IX.

COMMISSION OF BENJAMIN WALKER.

By the fall of 1790 the affairs of the Scioto company in Paris were in a hopeless condition. The drafts on Barlow made by Duer at the former's request, the proceeds of which were to be used by Duer in paying the expenses of conveying the first col-

onists to Scioto, had been returned unpaid. The Scioto associates in America decided to dispatch Col. Benj. Walker to Paris to investigate matters there and if necessary to supercede Barlow as their agent in Europe. Walker's commission dated Sept. 11, 1790 here printed was the outcome of their decision. On his arrival in Paris in Dec. 1790 Walker found the affair of the Scioto Co. too far gone to be revived. But he exonerated Barlow from all wilful blame in the matter & leaves us to conclude that the sub-agents of the Paris Co., Playfair or . . . [?], were guilty of stealing the funds entrusted to their care. For document Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I. 149.

NEW YORK, 11 SEPT., 1790.

Dear Sir,

You will receive herewith three Commissions, one constituting you a joint agent with Joel Barlow, Esq., in the management of the affairs of the Scioto Company in Europe.

Another, appointing you, our agent for examining the accounts & proceedings of the agents of the company in Europe, & the third, appointing you the agent for managing all the concerns of the Scioto Company abroad.

In bringing forward, & executing the commissions you will, we are sensible, act with all delicacy, & discretion, which our esteem for Mr. Barlow, and the nature of the case requires & with respect to the last you will neither make it known, or act under, unless the state of the company's affairs & the conduct of the parties, who have been intrusted with their management, should in your judgment, render it advisable.

Our anxious wish is to preserve Harmony amongst all the parties intrusted with the negotiation of the sales in Europe, as far as it can be done, consistently with the establishment of order in the conduct of the Company's affairs, & solid security for the funds received on account of the sales. These points must at all events be obtained, or, the interest & reputation of the company . . . as well as the property of the Purchasers will be inevitably sacrificed.

You will hear from us frequently on the state of matters here, & you will oblige us in giving from time to time an accurate detail of everything which relates to the Interest of the Company in Europe.

We are, Dear Sir

With sentiments of esteem

Your obedt. humble Servt.

Benjamin Walker, Esq.	(Signed)	{ Wm. Duer Royal Flint (and Wm. Craigie.	Trustees for the Scioto Purchasers.
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X.

(WILLIAM PLAYFAIR TO COLONEL DUER.)

(Letter dated, Paris, Dec. 27, 1790. Playfair was an Englishman long resident in Paris whose aid Barlow had enlisted in selling the Scioto land. It is a pretty well established fact that Playfair put into his own pocket the greater bulk of the money received by him as subagent for the Scioto associates. The letter herein given was written soon after Col. Walker had arrived in Paris to investigate the affairs of the Scioto Co. The insinuating tone shows admirably the character of the writer who hoped to clear *himself* from all blame in the transaction and to remain in the good graces of Duer and his associates. For this letter Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 177.)

PARIS, 27 DECEMBER, 1790.

Sir,

Since I had the honor of wrtting to you last in the month of November at such great length things are greatly changed here for the better by the arrival of Letters from several persons from the border of the Ohio who speak very favorably of the soil & climate & of the prospects in general—as soon as these letters have had time to produce their effect on the public there is very little doubt of a great sale. They are printed & within these three days copies have been sent to all parts of France & to all the Individuals who have begun treaties with us but have discontinued them thro' the bad accounts which for six months have never ceased to arrive.

Our situation is such that there is certainly a possibility with activity & a good plan to sell the greater part of these lands in six or 8 months from this time but if we once let slip this second occasion the lands will never be sold in Europe in such a manner as to enable the Company in America to make the payments to Congress. As you will receive by this or the first Packet after a historical account of the matter from the beginning with a particular account of all that has been sold with the effects on hand & Paid for the business I shall only at the end of this letter give you the result in general & here I shall confine myself to those things which do not enter into that general history & of which I have not written in my last but which it is necessary that you should know.

The arrival of Mr. Walker I consider a very lucky circumstance as it gives rise to an explanation that was very necessary. I never was so much surprised as when I understood from that Gentleman that the Scioto Company in America imagined a million of acres had been sold when in fact there has not been $\frac{1}{4}$ th of that quantity disposed

of—perhaps some of the Emigrants may have said it—if so they spoke from their imaginations or from hearsay—it is true that there was last spring a general belief that we had sold a great quantity & that belief was favorable for us, therefore we did not endeavor to destroy it but there is a great difference between the public and the Proprietors—our duty required us to inform you & leave them in their error as it was advantageous & hurt nobody. I cannot conceive why Mr. Barlow who charged himself with the correspondence did not inform you exactly as he examined all the acts of sale at the notaries himself, besides they were all in the Book open to him at all times. I have been the dupe of my confidence & that prevented me from writing myself as I ought to have done but as Mr. Barlow seemed vexed when I did it, as I trusted to him & as my attendance on the affair from morning till night left me little time while he had all the day to himself it is not so much to be wondered at, tho' I shall ever blame myself & lament it as I must be very ignorant not to perceive the consequence that such a belief must produce—in order to give credit to such a report you must imagine that 3 millions of livres had been received here out of which nothing (except 12 thousand livres by Mr. de Barth) had been remitted to you—3 millions is such a sum that you must not hesitate to suspect we kept the money with a bad intention. The fact with regard to the sales being otherwise you will no doubt change your opinion accordingly & I shall here confine myself to stating two facts which will not appear in the history of the affair but which I can scarcely prove. In the month of July last when the affair was reduced to nothing by the return of some emigrants & when Mr. Barlow had unknown to me signed a sale of the whole lands I had acceptances on my hands for the affair to the amount of 87,600*li* & about 40,000*li* for bills protected by people who refused to pay, in all amounting to about 127,000*li* which I was personally answerable for. No other person in France being answerable for one single hapence. At that same moment every value that I had among my hands was become suspect as it was the general opinion that I should be obliged to reimburse them all. The reimbursements actually made & even the monthly expenses did not fail to increase those embarrassments all of which came upon me & upon me only. I had in truth millions of embarrassments but not millions of money & I am not a little mortified at the ingratitude of some persons whom I had served & who were at some pains (I am informed) to give an unfavourable idea of me to you—they must have done more than forget the

services which I had rendered them—but all that is past & good prospects appear. I began with venturing what little I had in the affair & I shall stand or fall with it.

For the future I shall take care that you shall not want proper information. *Facts* & not expectations that have by being unfairly represented done so much harm for surely it was not upon expectations if they had been represented as such that you would have drawn such great Bills at such a risque of loss & discredit. It was then that I took the liberty to draw upon you for 11,000*lb*. The case was urgent—I have accepted & will punctually pay Mr. Vanden . . . 's (?) Bill which is come to hand.

At this present moment when the letters have not yet had time to produce their effect as I have seen the matter from the beginning all is now without difficulty & advantageous as regards the sale in Europe, perhaps I am more capable to judge of it than any other & in order to put your mind at ease I will employ a moment to say what appears to me to be certain & to be probable.

1st. It is certain that with the good news we shall sell in the course of 3 months more land than will enable you with the greatest ease to pay the price of all that is given possession of & all the advances in money which you have made or will be in the case of making for 6 months to come, this degree of success I count infallible.

As to probable—I think it very probable that one third or one half of the land will be sold in 6 months from this time & I am afraid that what is not sold before the end of next summer at farthest say nine months will never be sold by this method at all for the nature of the French nation is to over look a thing that does not go with ardour and enthusiasm, we shall either I think have great success or a very moderate degree—no medium is to be expected & I find all the People who know France are of the same opinion. As to the advances made & the engagements already taken I believe that you & the company may be perfectly easy about them as the most moderate degree of success will do more than pay them all. I am exceedingly sorry for the error you have been led into about the sales as that has occasioned an irreparable loss by the Bills returned & I repeat it again that the child unborn was not more ignorant of the Letters that occasioned those Bills than I was, I should certainly have advised you at the time if I had &—when I think on the advantages of a well followed correspondence had it been begun last year at this time, the

money, the inquietude, the disgrace it would have saved—I cannot pardon myself for the confidence I had in him who corresponded, also for the future I will have less & I shall write myself—others may write what and how they please. If they write of the things as they are, our letters will be of accord, if not I here take the engagement that mine shall always contain the information that I think the most material & that what I say shall be strictly true & said in the way that will lead to a true conclusion.

As you are to receive the detail of the accounts here—they are as they stood on the 22d of July since which time nothing has been sold, as from that date I had no more power to sell, Mr. Barlow's agreement with these men, de Barth, Coquet &c. having unknown to me been made & stopt the whole, that is therefore the reason why the account stops at that period & not at the present—it is to be observed likewise that as Mr. Barlow engaged to cede to these men all the values received either a process or an amiable arrangement must determine to whom they belong—you owe to my obstinacy or perseverance which ever it may be called & to that alone, that all these values were not delivered up to these men—it would have been my interest to have done it as I should have entered for a third in the thing but I never think it my interest to do what ought not to be done & I quarreled without much hesitation rather than expose the affair itself, which it would have been, had that bargain been completed.

22d JULY 1790.

Acres sold in all	148,376
Values existing on hand but which from their nature can not immediately be realized	696,541
Values paid in August for the company	66,036
Values which appear by the books to have been received but which have not	93,606
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	856,183

Thus then, Sir, you see how far we are from having had millions, from having squandered them or from having kept them. What has been done since the 22d of July has been little else than to keep the thing from falling to pieces by patience and good humor under the most outrageous attacks that are to be conceived. I do not claim any merit in all that for, as the Ruin of the affair would have been mine also, I did it for my own interest & to prevent myself from the disgrace attendant on a failure. The moment that our hopes begin to be realized I shall write again. & I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient & most humble servant.

XI.

JOEL BARLOW TO BENJAMIN WALKER.

(Two letters dated, Paris, Dec. 21, 1790, and May 3, 1791. In these letters to Col. Walker, who had been appointed by Duer to examine into the affairs of the Scioto Co. in Paris, Barlow gives his side of the Scioto transaction. He describes his endeavor for the good of the company and charges a large part of the whole failure to Duer's lack of interest and energy, especially accusing the latter of having left him (Barlow) without the necessary information concerning affairs in the west. For these letters Cf. *Gal. Paps*, I, 139 & 141.)

PARIS 21 DEC. 1799.

Benjamin Walker Esq.

Dear Sir—I cannot sufficiently express my joy and satisfaction on your arrival as it affords me an opportunity of relieving my mind from that heavy burthen which has almost worn away my life by detailing the history of the affairs of the Scioto company to a gentleman who possesses the confidence of the concern in America and who is fully entitled to mine. The letters which I have written to Col. Duer and others of the concern, the copies of which I have had the pleasure to communicate to you, have already given them a general idea of the progress of the business. It is true I have been less anxious to communicate the details of difficulties under which the business labored, and the motives inducing to the different steps taken in it, than I have to recount the facts and to state my ideas of the prospects—This enterprise in its origin was perhaps of too hazardous a nature for a Prudent man to have engaged in. I excuse myself to myself in this respect on the idea which I entertained before leaving America that the experiment might be made in a short time and at a small expense—fixing in my mind certain limits beyond which I determined not to pass—but with a strong probability to success.

After my most diligent exertions for about ten months to bring forward the business thro' the assistance of those persons in France and Holland to whom I was recommended and ordered to apply, I became convinced that they were amusing me with false hopes, that their interest as dealers in the American funds rendered them enemies to the sale of my lands which were to be paid for to the United States in those funds. I do not say with positiveness that these gentlemen would have opposed the business to the last. I have no ostensible proof of the fact, but the conviction was sufficiently strong in my mind to render it my duty to withdraw my confidence from them. In this situation which may be fixed at about the month of

March 1789 it became a question whether to return to America with the loss of a years time, the expense of five hundred pounds sterling to the concern and to be considered (at least in my own apprehension) the dupe of these gentlemen or to attempt a negotiation under the disadvantage of being obliged to avoid them and their connexions which were numerous in Paris as well as Amsterdam.

At this time the revolution which has since taken place in France had become an event to be expected with certainty, and the great emigration which must be connected with such an event promised much in favor of the sale of lands in America.

I believed that the United States might be much benefited by turning this tide of emigration to that country and that the interest of the Scioto concern required that I should try for awhile what could be done in Paris. Whatever may be the final event of this decision I must say it was very far from being dictated by personal interest. I had at that time several offers made to me for other pursuits which appeared flattering and advantageous. I had fulfilled the mission received from Col. Duer. I had been left for some time without support from the Company. Out of six hundred pounds sterling which was agreed to be allowed me by the year for expenses I had received but two hundred and fifty. I had been ten month from America without hearing a syllable from the Company. I had spent a considerable sum of my own money, and was somewhat in debt for my personal expenses. The risk therefore was all my own, for no experiment could be made without contracting further debts and the advantage, if any should result from it, would be to the Company at large and the United States.

Col. Blackden from Massachusetts then and now resident in Paris brought me acquainted with Mr. William Playfair, an Englishman of a bold and enterprising spirit and a good imagination who had been some years in business in Paris and was acquainted with many people of business and property here. Col. Blackden is a man perfectly honest, candid and generous, he was then disposing of a tract of land in Kentucky in which he had made some progress; he readily gave me all the information in his power relative to the subject and has rendered essential service to the business both at first and during the progress to this time.

In July 1789 by virtue of my powers from the Company I made to him a conveyance of one thirtieth part of the result of our contract

and speculation on condition of his rendering such services as might be in his power.

In the month of April 1789 we began the plan of forming a company to purchase the whole of the lands, as I considered that the nature of our contract being but a naked preemption was too slight and dangerous a ground to attempt retailing upon. My arguments on this head are sufficiently detailed in my letters of the last year which you have seen and which are in the hands of Mr. Duer.

On the third of August that year this company was formed in *Commandite* by a public act with the privileges of a body corporate composed of such persons as were supposed to be able to give solidity to the operation and cover the apparent defect of a mere preemption. The nature and name [of] this society will be seen by a copy of their act of formation which I shall hand you with this. They created eight thousand actions to be sold at a thousand livres each. They expected to be able to raise money enough in a short time to pay the first quarter of the land, to begin the cultivation on the Company's account and to sell portions to individuals. This they supposed would raise the value of the lands so that they would soon be able to sell them all off at a considerable profit. In short their intended manner of operation and the subsequent contract of sale which I passed to them on the 3d of November following a copy of which I shall likewise hand you. [Sic.]

From the time this Society was formed till the first of January many of these actions were subscribed for, and some portions of the lands sold so that the prospect of success was very good, and had they as much confidence in each other as every one appeared to have in the speculation itself they could not have failed. In this interval Mr. Maheas, Comptroller general of the King's domains, one of this society and appointed in the act of formation, one of the principal agents in the business, was obliged on account of his obnoxious politics, or delinquency in public office to fly his country. M. Troussie another associate for some reason unknown to me, fled about the same time. This man I found afterwards had carried off fifty actions of the company and had procured a power to sell lands for the Company. I was a long time under great apprehensions from what he might do but happily his politics soon lodged him in prison in Brabant where I believe he has lain ever since.

These circumstances were among the causes of the Company to make their first payment in January; and it was agreed in that month

that the contract should be given up. But as I conceived it dangerous that it should appear publicly that the society had failed, that the business should appear to rest only in the hands of a stranger whose powers would not bear too critical an examination they being founded on a mere contract of preemption, I did not reduce this relinquishment to writing by a public act till the month of July ; of this act I shall likewise give you a copy.

It would now be necessary to detail the circumstances which led to a second contract which I made for the sale of our preemption to the Society of DeBarth, Coquet and Company on the same day of the relinquishment above mentioned, but it is impossible to give an adequate idea of the causes of this transaction. It arose from a train of indescribable events which filled my mind with horror as they passed but which can make but feeble impressions on the mind of one who only hears some of them recounted—for it is not possible to recollect them all. I shall only say that the treaty out of which the transaction grew was begun in March soon after the departure of the first ships. At this time though the affair wore a very good appearance and promised eventual success, yet the progress of the sales began to relent and I feared the funds would not come from the direct sales, so fast as would be requisite for the Engagements we might be under in America. Add to this a fact which gave me too much pain to be forgotten, that I had then been near two years in Europe without having a word from Mr. Duer or any other person on the subject of my mission. Though I had written regular and full accounts of my progress in every step I had yet taken before and after the operations began in Paris, it was impossible for me to know whether what I had done would be approved or not ; whether the situation of the savages would permit possession to be taken of the lands or not. Or indeed whether the little settlement began by the Ohio Company on which the success of this must in a great measure depend, still existed or not. In this state of doubt and anxiety I conceived it a great object to find a company who could advance some immediate funds to take and fulfill our engagements to the public and allow us a sure profit though a small one compared with what had before been calculated. This Company as I fully believe had the prospect of being able to do this as long as the affairs of the Company wore the favorable appearance which they did in the month of March, this will appear by the provisional agreement made with them the 17th of that month and renewed on the 15th of April, a

copy of which I shall hand you. The increase of the calumnies and evil reports which I shall have occasion to recount more fully under the next head discouraged by degrees the married part of the Company about to be formed and finally drove me to conclude the treaty such as it is on the 22d of July. It is a thing conceived in caution and brought forth in a state of anxiety and vexation which borders on despair.

With respect to the Company funds their present state is seen in the amount in three columns hereto annexed, but to show how they came to be reduced to so pitiable a state it will be necessary to remount pretty high in the current of those events and to trace out a succession of facts which can never be so painful to any other as to me. These facts have been most of them stated in my letters to Messrs. Duer, Flint and others, the copies of which I have shown you. I do not know by what means these gentlemen have imbibed the idea that a million of acres were sold. This is not consistent with the least degree of confidence in the amounts which I had given. In my letter of the 10th of February to Messrs. Putnam and Sargent sent by Mr. DeBarth I enclosed a certified list of the purchasers with their quantity of acres up to that day.

The following paragraph in that letter will show my object in taking that precaution. "I enclose a list of the purchasers who have finished their "bargain, with their quantity of acres. I shall continue to transmit them regularly which I advise you to enregister in a book; and to prevent counterfeits consider no deed as authentic that is not comptrolled in this manner."

On the 6th of May I forwarded to the same gentlemen by M. Marnesia a continuation of this list up to that date certified by me in the same manner, the first of these amounted to about 100,000 acres and the second to about 40,000. This letter of the 6th of May it seems was the last that had been received before your departure and at the time when the trustees united in a letter in which is the following paragraph—"If reliance can be placed on the accounts received from many reputable persons who have arrived, at least a million acres must have been sold" &c.

It is to be observed that the ship in which M. Marnesia sailed was the last that had arrived when this letter was written, so that their information respecting the quantity of land sold could not be drawn from a source later than the date of my letter. My letters it is true containing the list of purchasers were addressed Messrs. Putnam and

Sargent, because they were supposed by me to be on the spot where these checks would be necessary in laying out the portions to individuals. It is possible these letters have not been received, or if they have they may be still unknown to the gentlemen in New York. My letter of the 6th of May to Mr. Duer mentions the decline of the sales and my fears that little more could be done until we should get good news from the first emigrants in the possession of their lands. As this good news has not even yet arrived (but a frightful train of contrary facts has been constantly announced) it would not be expected that much business could be done from May to September.

But to waive this part of the subject which seems to have been so much misunderstood I will return to the real state of the facts in the country relative to the Company's funds. *The increase of expenses* and the *diminution of sales* are two effects resulting partly from the same causes, and partly from causes distinct; and they require to be treated separately. The expenses here have been much increased from the operations of the first society with whom I contracted. They expected to go on at first with a large plan of cultivation on their own account in order to form an establishment which should raise the value of their lands. For this purpose they have engaged many laborers and sent them to Havre, from whence they were to sail early in January; they had enrolled many others some of which it was found afterwards impossible to get rid of, they being in numerous instances recommended by people of consequence in the town whom it would not do to offend. From hence it arose that so many people have gone out on what is called the Company's account. These people as well as many of the poorer sort of proprietors lay upon our hands for a long time before they sailed. The passengers in the first ship went to Havre some in November, others in December, others in January. Those of the second nearly at the same periods. These two ships sailed I believe on the 13th and 19th of February the first having been detained near a month simply by the weather. The same kind of expenses have been incident to every set of passengers tho' in a less degree till the last.

Another source of expense has been the reclamation for damages by those who have returned and by many others who have not been out but who were eager to seize the advantage of the clamor raised against the affair to make unreasonable demands.

The diminution and stagnation and retrogradation of the sales are

next to be considered. Their precise situation may be seen in the following statement. [Blank here, said statement not given.]

The causes of this decline of business have already been sufficiently detailed in many letters to Mr. Duer, Mr. Flint and others — I was going to repeat them here in a manner more methodical and minute, but it is not absolutely necessary, and the subject is too painful.

I shall therefore make at present only two observations. 1st. That at the time of sailing of the first ships and especially on receiving the letters of Messrs Putnam and Cutler the beginning of March, I had good reason to expect news from emigrants on the lands by the month of June which I was sure would enable me to pay Mr. Duer's drafts. 2d. The personal risk I have run in remaining in Paris several months past could not have been, could not be justified upon any other principle than the most sacred regard to the interest of the concern. I have been many times threatened with assassination. The cries of many people who believed or affected to believe their children or other friends devoured by the American savages were on the point of collecting the mobs of Paris to demolish the Bureau and sacrifice the people who had enticed away so many citizens. So lately as the day after your arrival, I was called to the house of M. De Lormerie my friend and by him warned very seriously not to remain another day in this situation; to deposit my papers in a place of security, for he expected *a mob would be at the house* and he was very sure that neither the civil nor military officers of Paris would dare to interfere. I calmed the solicitude of this good man by announcing to him your arrival and the prospect of immediate good news from the emigrants: good news has now arrived and things assume a better aspect.

You will perceive by the account here rendered of the Company's funds that it is out of my power to accept the bill of Mr. Duer for 532,267 livres. I have not only not a farthing of the Company's money at my command but am very considerably in debt for my personal expenses.

I shall here enter into no details relative to the prospects that now open before us on receipt of the letters received giving assurances that the emigrants will be put into possession of their lands.

The prospect appears to me to be flattering but from the information I have been able to give you in conversation and what you have learnt from others, you will be able to form your own opinion on the subject. I will only observe that from a variety of circumstances the

present winter is the most favorable that can be expected for this business, and that not a moment is to be lost.

I am sorry for the delay which has intervened in the stating of the accounts. It is owing to a variety of objects which occupy the attention of the persons employed in the details of the business.

By the letters of the trustees of the 11th of September handed me by you I am informed that you are appointed a joint agent with myself in the future management of the Scioto concerns in Europe. I am extremely rejoiced to hear it, and hope you will not be discouraged undertaking this object on account of the embarrassments that past difficulties have brought upon the affair.

PARIS, 3 MAY, 17 1.

Ben Walker Esq.

My dear Friend: I received yours of the 2d of April, and am much mortified at not being able to see you before your departure. You did not tell me whether the March packet had arrived. This leaves me less able to judge whether I am to expect any news from the Company or not. Indeed I see nothing but a continuation of the scene of mortification which I have experienced every since I have been in Europe. I do not blame the associates for their want of attention to the most essential parts of the business. It is now just a year since the emigrants arrived in America and there is no proof here at this day of their being in possession of the lands. I wrote and said all that I could write and say during the course of the winter before I left, that everything here would depend upon the information of the emigrants on a few obvious points. That they were on the lands, that the lands were good, that there was nothing to fear from the savages &c. and then it was necessary likewise that I should have details relative to many other things, such as the roads, the distances, the progress of settlements in that country, the real disposition of the savages, the produce of the lands, the real history of any disastrous events which are often fabricated or exaggerated in the American papers &c. You know, my dear Sir, that none of these things have been done.

One Solitary letter from a person unknown dated at Marietta says that the emigrants were on the lands in Nov. last, allowing it to be true six months had passed after their arrival during which they were kept off, without any reason being given in Europe that could appear sufficient to satisfy the minds of enquirers, not a letter in all this time

from any of the company that I could show here,—a few letters on the subject of money & bills which I received I could not communicate as they contained nothing calculated to inspire confidence here. Having it known from time to time that I received letters which I could not show, gave the appearance of mystery & increased suspicion. The letters from the emigrants in this interval were a mixture of good and bad, just sufficient to keep the mind in a balance had not the circumstance of delay intervened to turn the scale. But even had the good been unattended by the bad, the causes of delay being unexplained it is reasonable that something like the following would have been the effect: On the first arrival it would have been well, afterwards indifferent, finally mysterious and suspicious. For the reasoning would have been thus: “The Americans treat these people well & promise to conduct them immediately to the lands. Good, let us wait a little for the event. Two months afterwards the Americans continue to treat them well even generously. This is good enough, but where are the lands? why don’t they move forward? Three months afterwards one season is lost, they are still treated with great attention—promised a support for a year, taught to praise the quality of the lands which however they can’t get a sight at. What does this mean? Why, those gentlemen think they have got a great affair by the end. They think their agent in Europe is going on with the sales, he has need of fine stories to bait a sufficient number of purchasers & the profit they expect to draw from the whole cheat will be sufficient to warrant their expending a considerable sum in duping the first emigrants that they may assist in duping others.”

Nothing is more natural than this kind of reasoning, even supposing that some hundreds of men would have waited many months on the Atlantic shore without writing an ill natured word.

But the people here were not complimented with the pleasure of making their own reflections. They were told these things in numberless letters as well as by the fractious fellows who returned.

Consider now, my dear sir, another 6 months passed away, since (as I suppose) they are on the lands, and not a syllable of direct information from the spot. Consider the single circumstance of the expedition into the Miami Country last year. Its event was a subject suited to fill the English & French papers with dark & vague stories which might go even to the destruction of all the western settlements. The object of this expedition ought to have been explained by our correspondents as soon as they knew it, and the events of it explained,

fixing the places and distances marking the influence it might have on our settlement. The story has been here that every French emigrant except one fell in the battle with the savages ; What can I say to this? how can I prove it? Whether the Miami villages were 50 or 500 miles from the Scioto purchase I know not.

General Putnam wrote me a letter in March 1790 giving me much information from the Western country, for which I thanked him very sincerely. It was of more value to me than all I have received from others. But even this led me into one very fatal deception, he told me that he would go himself to Alexandria & meet the settlers & conduct them to the lands. This raised my hopes exceedingly, but they were disappointed. I don't mention all these things as absolute wilful sins in my associates but I mention them as facts, and as reasons why my expectations in this country have not been realized. For I have no more doubt than I ever had, that the affair would have succeeded, all their bills been paid and a great profit been made to the concern if such news had arrived here by August or September last as I had every reason to believe would arrive ; which reason was not only grounded on the nature of the subject, but was greatly strengthened & rendered in my opinion almost infallible by the letter of General Putnam.

With regard to the transactions here you know the history of them tho' you can not know but in part the motives which led to them whatever may be the dishonesty of Playfair at bottom, his conduct for a year past has been dictated as it still appears to me—rather from the uncertainty, contradictions & obscurity which involved the Ameriean part of the transaction, than from any principle of Knavery.

It is more than a year since I have thought him if not radically dishonest, at least what was as bad, a most imprudent & unfit man to have any authority in a business of this kind & I determined to get rid of him in the best manner possible. I was in hopes that every month & every week would bring such accounts from America as would enable me to force him to render his accounts without ruining the business. As that time never arrived when I could do this in a direct manner, it formed a principal motive for listening to the propositions of Bourogne & Company. Tho' this affair dragged along and ended in the contract which you have seen yet that contract would have been an advantageous one if the news from America had justified the representations which I always made here in good faith and with full conviction that they would be realized. I am willing to

allow that there have been faults committed on both sides the water, mine have not been want of attention or integrity. I have been deceived here and disappointed there, but I must say that the disappointments from that quarter have been principal causes of exposing me to the deceptions here.

Whether the gentlemen there will take the measures we have recommended or any other to retrieve the fortune of the speculation or not I cannot tell. If they do not, it is my opinion that you would do well to suggest to the Secretary of the Treasury some ideas on a mode of offering lands for sale in Europe directly on account of the United States. It seems that the troubles in Brabant are to be acted over again & that those in France are by no means at an end. An office opened at Dunkerque under proper checks & superintended by the minister here would do a great deal of business, I have no doubt. I ought to mention that there is reason to believe that many letters from the emigrants are stopped as well as some of mine & that some of those fellows are corrupted by a French consul. Bergent De Frondville has lately written from New York one of the most infamous letters that ever was seen. He says he has been to the lands that they are not habitable, that the settlers must all return & go to the Islands or starve. That the settlement of Marietta consists of a few little log huts, the people in a starving condition, that Pittsburg is a poor miserable place, in short there are no provisions in the country & there never can be. If this fellow has been to the lands, he must have been charged with letters from the emigrants—he has sent on none—but seems to be on his return on purpose to blast the whole affair. This same fellow has been famous for writing bad letters ever since he arrived. If anything farther is to be done in the business (or even if there is not, it would be for the interest of the public) some American ought to make it an indispensable duty to make every creature of them write, that can write, & tell their friends that the lands are good & that they are happy, let them all tell their own story* every one that is not heard from will be supposed to be dead.

I am dear friend, Yours sincerely,

J. Barlow.

*These letters ought carefully to be taken charge of & forwarded to Europe. If they were under cover to the ministers here it would not be amiss. This single attention would probably induce thousands of people & some of them persons of property & artists to go to that country even if no more lands were sold in Europe.

XII

(LETTERS OF RUFUS PUTNAM.)

(Rufus Putnam to M. Guion, New York, March 9, 1790; Rufus Putnam to Col. Duer, New York, May 1, 1790; Rufus Putnam to Col. Duer, May 28, and May 30, 1790. General Rufus Putnam one of the leading members of the Ohio Co., and the head of the founders of Marietta was also interested in the Scioto speculation. He was the principal agent of the Scioto Co. in the west. Major Isaac Guion was engaged by the company to take charge of the French emigrants and lead them to Alexandria, Va., to their proposed town on the Ohio. This he accomplished and remained at Gallipolis for some little time after the arrival of the French at that place. For these letters Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 155-9.)

NEW YORK, MARCH 9th, 1790,

Sir :

The object of your going to Alexandria is to meet a number of people expected very soon, if they have not already arrived from France, who have purchased lands in the western country of Joel Barlow, Esqr. agent for the Scioto Company—these people have a Superintendent or agent with them to whom you will make yourself and business known; but in doing this some address will be necessary, because it will be improper that your business should be known to any other person or that you have any knowledge of Mr. Barlow and his agency in Europe—when you have made up your acquaintance with the principal person among these people, you will inform him that in consequence of letters received from Mr. Barlow, Mr. John Vanleer at Red Stone on the Monongahala River has received orders from General Putnam to provide boats and provisions, and that a number of good labourers will be ready to go down and assist them in their operations through the summer, & everything is put in train to make their circumstances as agreeable as possible—that General Putnam who conducted the first Settlers at Muskingum and is well acquainted in the country will be at Alexandria, as soon as the roads are sufficiently dry for wagons to cross the mountains—which it is presumed will not be till the latter end of April—in the meantime it will be best they should remain at Alexandria unless on enquiry you find they can be better accommodated at Winchester or some other Country Town on road to Red Stone, they will have no occasion to lay in any stock of provisions to carry them on except for a few days at a time as they may be easily provided on the road, and in the neighborhood at Red Stone and below any quantity of Flour, Pork and whiskey may be procured very cheap.

You will advise their agent that it will be best their connection with Mr. Barlow and real destination should not be known to the people of Virginia till General Putnam arrives or you hear further from me; but that they should give out that they are bound to Muskingum where they expect such information as will enable them to fix on some particular place for settlement. You will befriend them in procuring accommodation and temporary supplies in such manner as will prevent their being imposed on from being strangers in the country and not speaking the Language.

It will also be necessary that you ascertain as far as possible the best route to Red Stone, the price of waggonage and where they can be best procured. On your arrival at Alexandria you will write me immediately whether any of these people are arrived or not, and you will keep me informed of everything respecting them or any others coming out that shall come to your knowledge.

NEW YORK, MAY 1st, 1790.

Sir :

The other evening you desired me to state my Ideas of the business proposed to be entrusted to Capt. Guihon in compliance with which I propose the following for the consideration of the Trustees, as a general System, viz:—

Mr. Guihon to go to Alexandria to assist the agents in taking up lodging, provisions, Teams, and every other matter they may want to purchase or hire, both at Alexandria and on their way to Red Stone or place of Embarkation, to see that the Settlers are not imposed on from their not Speaking the language or not knowing the price of articles; he should ascertain the best route, stages & accommodations with the cheapest mode of Transportation whether wagons or pack horses or both are best to make use of and the practicability of Sending goods by water to Fort Cumberland or not; he should correspond with Mr. Backers at Red Stone; should notify him of his approach and expected time of the settlers arrival at that place with their numbers and wants that such provision as their own agents shall require may be made in season for their accommodation, he should undoubtedly go on with the first party who shall cross the mountains to Red Stone, but his trying their proceeding down the river with the settlers or returning to Alexandria must depend on circumstances and the determination of the Agents who come from Europe—the money he will want depends on the advance the Trustees conclude to make—

by Mr. Barlow's letters I conceive the European agents will pay all the expenses from time to time in this quarter, except that of keeping Mr. Guyhon or some other person to assist them in this quarter.

The moment Mr. Backus has executed his orders at Red Stone &c. &c. he will set out to meet the Settlers to assist them in crossing the mountains and of this Mr. Guihon should be informed.

Mr. Backus or some other person should be continued in the neighbourhood of Red Stone for the purpose of procuring Boats and provisions for the Settlers, but to what extent is altogether uncertain at present, and depends on the numbers that shall arrive, and the arrangements their agents shall make, therefore beyond his present orders I think Mr. Backus ought not to go till the Trustees shall settle some arrangements with the European agents who are expected out with the Settlers.

Major Burnham should proceed immediately to the big Kenhawa and begin his operations of clearing and Hut building, and if possible be down in season to put in some corn. The pay of Major Burnham and his people for six months amounts to 2664 Dolls; the order given to Mr. Backus and McFarland amount to 4520. Provision should be made for discharging these debts agreeably to the propositions made the parties, and the money sent on in Season and lodged with Suitable persons for the purpose.

WELLSBURGH AT THE MOUTH OF BUFFALOE,
MAY 28TH, 1790.

Dear Sir:

I wrote you on the 20th instant from Sumralls Ferry, advising of the scarcity of provisions in this quarter, that No Credit or any means but money would procure them, & very little was to be had at any rate, that these circumstances absolutely forbad the emigrants from crossing the mountains till after harvest.

I find on conversing with Mr. McFarland that I was rightly informed by Mr. Backus, and am warranted in saying it will be impossible to procure bread for the Scioto Settlers Should they come on immediately, they must therefore at all events be prevented crossing the mountains at present, nor will it be in the power of Mr. McFarland by any means in his hands or on the credit of any man living to procure any considerable supply in future, in short you ought to rely on Cash only as the means of procuring Supplies for several months to come, for I conceive nothing else will induce people to thrash their grain before the usual time.

You ought also immediately to concert measures for procuring provisions for these and others expected from Europe both the present and ensuing year, for in consequence of the high price now given and free permission to Transport Flour to New Orleans large quantities will be sent down the River the coming fall and winter; the present scarcity will oblige people to begin on their new crops several months earlier than usual—these circumstances with the unpromising appearance of the Crops now on the ground renders it highly probable that Flour will be dear the next as well as the present Summer; if therefore you wish to secure the Scioto settlers against the inconvenience of such probable scarcity; if you wish to purchase provisions of all kinds on the best terms you must begin early in the fall. November and December is the usual time for killing beef and pork in this country, when it may be purchased much cheaper than afterwards; these months and through the winter, Wheat, Rye & Indian corn will probably be sold twenty-five per cent. lower than the next June. And sure I am that unless the Trustees or the French agents shall take the advantage of the fall and winter season to lay in sufficient Magazines of provisions for all that have or shall arrive either the present or ensuing year, the proprietors as well as the settlers must suffer greatly in their interest. Should the Trustees be of my opinion in this & determine on purchasing a supply perhaps the establishing a few stores in the best provision part of the country furnished with goods & a sufficient quantity of cash to enable them to pay money when necessary may answer the purpose as well or better than to depend on cash altogether; but in whatever way you propose to obtain the supplies you ought to put the business into the hands of some mercantile character in whom you can place confidence and who should have all the business under his direction (for my own part I understand nothing of mercantile matters, nor will the duty I owe the public, my own private affairs and other engagements suffer me to meddle with this were I ever so well qualified.) I shall religiously attend to the necessary arrangements in providing for and employing Major Burnham's people as well as the Locations and surveys it is incumbent on the Trustees to make to the settlers to fulfill the engagements which Mr. Barlow may have made to them; but as to procuring supplies and furnishing them to the settlers or their agents it is impossible for me to take any care whatever of it, and I give you this early notice that some suitable person may be seasonably provided for the purpose. I have a good opinion of Mr. Backus &

several others in this quarter who I could recommend for their abilities & integrity & who will make good assistants, but I know of none whose mercantile knowledge & circumstances are such as I should be willing to be responsible for as your chief Factor, you must I think send your principle from New York or somewhere on the East side the mountains.

I have requested Mr. Backus to set out immediately for Alexandria to assist the French agents in conducting the settlers over the mountains &c.—if he meets any of the Trustees there he will deliver a duplicate of this letter to them and if not he will come to New York unless Major Rochefontaine shall detain him in which case he will forward my letter by the rail.

None of the settlers being on with Teams, Tools &c. as was expected when Major Burnham's company was ordered to be raised several articles must be supplied which it was expected they would have furnished & which will occasion considerable additional expense.

I shall enclose you an estimate of the whole expense to the first of December, exclusive of any supplies to the settlers & my own personal time & expenses, and must entreat that you will send on a sufficient sum of money by Mr. Backus or some trusty person, to me or in my absence to Col. Meigs at Muskingum to discharge the debts agreeably to contract; this Sir, is a circumstance that must be particularly attended to, for besides the discredit it would bring on the company should there be a failure on our part in paying Burnham's people they may take it in their heads to leave us at a time when we most need their labor.

I must entreat that you will forward to me as soon as possible a copy of the sales which Mr. Barlow has made to the people who have arrived that I may be able in some measure to detail the business of surveys before I return to New England for my family.

N. B. I have desired Mr. McFarland to inform the Trustees what provisions he shall be able to obtain in the course of the fall with the means now in his power & also to give you his opinion of the best mode to be pursued for securing a general supply in future. I have the honor to be Sir with every sentiment of respect your
humble servant,

RUFUS PUTNAM.

Col. Duer.

P. S. You must not omit applying to the Secretary of War for a Company or a part of a Company of the troops now in the Western

Country to be stationed at our French settlement as soon at least as the settlers arrive, & it would be for our interest if the measure could be adopted much sooner. May 30th. We leave this place within one hour—The Trustees are much obliged to Mr. McFarland for his exertions; he has given us a full supply of flour for $4\frac{1}{2}$ months at 4 Dollars per barrel when without his assistance I am sure it could not have been obtained under 6 or 7.

SUMRELLS, FAIRY ON THE YOUGHIOGANA RIVER,

MAY 30TH, 1790.

Dear Sir:

I arrived here last evening where I found Mr. Backus and Major Burnham (with his party) I learn that provisions are excessively scarce and dear. Flour eight dollars per barrel, Indian corn one dollar, 33 cents per bushel, none to be had without cash in hand and very little for it—it will be with the greatest difficulty we shall be able to procure provisions for Major Burnham's people till after harvest—these circumstances absolutely forbids the emigrant from crossing the mountains till after the new crops come in (which perhaps may be in August, but little will be thrashed till September). Mr. Backus informs me that Mr. McFarland could not procure any flour or corn without his advancing the cash to pay for it, from these circumstances, viz: the high price of provisions and that nothing but cash will procure them, you must be sensible that a further supply of cash will be soon wanted, but before I can be particular I must see McFarland when you shall hear from me again—In the meantime (I regret it) the emigrants must not cross the mountains at present, and make your arrangements to send on more money in a short time.

Burnham's party will set off in three or four days and every exertion will be made in erecting Posts, &c.

XIII.

I. GUION TO WILLIAM DUER.

(Letters dated Alexandria, May 31 and June 2, 1790. See No. XII. For these letters Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 159.)

ALEXANDRIA, 31ST MAY, 1790.

My dear Sir,

The determination of marching with part of the people which I mentioned in my last to you has had an excellent effect—the report

had no sooner got abroad amongst the unreasonable *acquerirs*, than they saw their weakness in being divided, and that there would be less probability, of having their demands complied with.

Boulogne at first began to reason with me on the bad policy of it, but finding me inflexible at length gave into it but faintly. A Mr. Thory and Laforge, two of the most unreasonable, finding us arranging for the march waited on Mr. Barth and asked him for his advice; he told them that they had not consulted with him when they made their demands and that he could not advise them now—pretending ignorance of the nature of their demands and the answers they had received, and what Franks &c. had written—he told them however that he thought that they had better go on with us. I find a much more considerable number ready to go on with us than I at first imagined would go.

Mr. D'Hebecourt & Mr. Rome & others, have requested the paper signed by Mr. Franks & Co. that if the business should fail, that is, if the rest do not follow—that the company shall be at the charge of transporting their baggage back to this place if they choose to return from Winchester, the place I mean to halt them at. By every account I can get I think they will be much better satisfied there than here for a variety of reasons. I mean at all events to set off before your answer to their demands could possibly return. If you can come here yourself do it by all means, it will have the best possible effect. I wish most heartily you had never sent Mr. Boulogne—he pleads indisposition and says he must stay till another Post, I am sure it is feigned, and that it is done only to see if we do not win over his party. You must be aware of him—do not think that I have any prejudices that lead me to say this of him—I declare to you I have not—I am on the best of terms with him, and he rather thinks I lean to his side than otherwise.

I wrote yesterday to General Putnam by one of the men engaged under Captn. Burnham, he left at Red Stone twenty seven of that company when he came away, which was the 10th inst. but his account of the lowness is a circumstance which may be embarrassing; but when there we must do the best we can.

I shall write to you fully by the next Post. as Boulogne must be really sick or will have no excuse to remain here longer and I mean if possible to set off for Winchester the same day.

ALEXANDRIA, 2d JUNE, 1790.

Dear Sir,

I hope when you receive this you will be on your way here, where your presence is absolutely necessary.

In my last to you I mentioned my determination of marching with part on Saturday next, since that they have had another meeting and have agreed to wait your answer. Messrs. Barth and Thiebout who were, and are, disposed to do what is proper, offer for reasons that the purchasers will have nothing to say, if after your determination, they go with their people, which they will do, they say, let the result be what it may.

Should another vessel arrive before we get away a part of those now here, such disorder will very probably ensue, as may put an end to the business, and a report is in town that another vessel is in the Bay.

There is here a Mr. Mamie, from towards Pittsburgh, who is not your friend, nor that of the company. On hearing your name mentioned by Mr. Barth, I observed him closely. There are several of them connected & I am certain doing all in their power to corrupt these people; they are artful, & some of them wealthy. What you do must be done quickly, as much expense will attend every delay & perhaps the total failure of a business that promises everything if but rightly managed.

Mr. Boulogne, will hand this to you, he will be able to give you the true detail, if his partiality for his party will let him. I am sorry he ever came to this place. Franks informs you with the particulars of the last meeting. I shall still endeavor to change them from their last resolution, and if possible, get a part of them away as this to me seems the only sure means of success.

XIV.

PETITION OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS.

(Original manuscript or very old copy of the Petition of the French emigrants then at Gallipolis to the agents of the Ohio Company, Dec. 17, 1795. This petition explains itself. For document, Cf. *Gal. Paps.*, I, 121.)

TO THE AGENTS OF THE OHIO COMPANY.

The French Inhabitants of Gallipolis by their Agents Matthew Berthelot, Peter Bureau and R. J. Meigs take the Liberty to lay before them the following Memorial:

In the Year 1789 appeared at Paris Joel Barlow esq. agent of a

Company by the Name of the Scioto Company, & by his Sub-agents Messrs Playfair & DeSoisson, offered for Sale large quantities of Land, lying in the Western Territories, a plan of which Lands were exhibited, for the Information of those who wish to become purchasers, which included the Lands, opposite & below the Great Kanhawa, (in the Ohio Company's Purchase) in which general Plan was included that of a City to be situated opposite the Mouth of the Great Kanhawa, a considerable quantity of those Lands were purchased by us—also a number of City Lots, to be chosen by us, out of the City Lots so designated by the said Plan. Possession of all which were to be delivered immediate upon our Arrival.

Upon our arrival from France to Alexandria, we finding no agent, or arrangements made by Mr. Duer the Superintendent of the Scioto Company (as had been promised) for transporting accross the Mountains, we sent to Col. Duer, who sent Col. Franks as his agent to negotiate with us, relative to the expenses of our Delay at Alexandria & other matters incident to our Situation:

Col. Franks, & other agents of Mr. Duer then engaged, as a Compensation for our expenses incurred at Alexandria, that the Scioto Comp'y should grant to each of the purchasers, among us one City Lot and one four acre Lot adjacent to said City.

In the meantime the Scioto Comp'y finding the Lands they had sold us in France, belonged to the Ohio Company, negociated a Contract with the Ohio Company by Messrs. Duer, Flint & Craige of the part & Messrs. Putnam & Cutler Directors of the Ohio Company on the other four part of those Lands they had sold in France, in order to fulfill their Engagements with the purchasers & a right of Entry was given by Messrs Putnam & Cutler. In Consequence of the said Contract, & such right of Entry, the Scioto Co. proceeded to lay out the Town of Gallipolis for the fulfillment of their Contracts with us, who after long & expensive Journeys, arrived at Gallipolis.

Major Guyon Agent for the Scioto Company at Gallipolis, proceeded to designate by the Choice of the Purchasers to them the Lots sold in France, next by the drought the City Lots & four acre Lots engaged at Alexandria, as aforesaid, & lastly to sell in behalf of the Scioto Company other City & four acre Lots for which he received in many Instances immediate payment.

In this situation under these Circumstances & Assurances we have proceeded to clear, occupy & build indiscriminately upon the City & four acre Lots, not in the least doubting but that we should receive

from the Scioto Company Sufficient Titles, to the Lots so assigned. But our Expectations are disappointed by the failure of Mr. Duer, & the Lands we are upon belonging to the Ohio Com'y.*

(After the failure of Mr. Duer, Mr. Craige one of those who contracted with, the 2 Directors of the Ohio Comp'y finding the Scioto Comp'y unable to complete their Contract with the Ohio Comp'y, for the Lands, & being then a Proprietor of 5 Shares in the Ohio Company; purchased at New York on the——day of——relinquished, & transferred to the Ohio Company his aforesaid 5 shares as a Compensation for the damages the Ohio Comp'y Sustained by the failure of the Scioto Comp'y in Executing their Contract and the Contract was annulled & given up on both sides. And thus it has become impossible for the Scioto Comp'y to fulfill their Contracts with us relative to the Lands at Gallipolis.)

(And further we beg leave to state that if the Expenses of the Ohio Company attending the negociation between the Scioto & Ohio Company, do not amount to the Value of the 5 Shares so transferred & relinquished by Mr. Craige, that the Ohio Comp'y have gained an acquisition—an acquisition of so much Value, as the amount of the difference, between those Expenses, & the Value of the 5 Shares so relinquished and transferred. If then there be to the Ohio Comp'y any acquisition, we consider that indirectly it accrued by our Means, in some measure, for had not we contracted for those Lands, with the Scioto Comp'y, the Scioto Comp'y would not have contracted with the Ohio Comp'y, for them, & if the Ohio Comp'y had not contracted, they would not have received from Mr. Craige the 5 Shares for the non-performance of the Contract—& further that the Ohio Comp'y have suffered, but we by the failure of the Contract and further that by our settlement we have augmented the value of the O. Co. Lands in that quarter of the purchase—we do not pretend to have upon the Ohio Comp'y any Claim in Law for those Lands—Although we were not parties to the Contract between the Ohio Comp'y & Scioto Comp'y, yet we have entered upon those Lands with the knowledge & Consent of the Ohio Comp'y & have resided on them to this time, we trust our Situation will be taken into Consideration.)

(Confiding in the Scioto Comp'y we have paid for the Lands we occupy, our resources have been exhausted by long Voyages and Journeys & by Improvements upon those Lands which we now find not our own, & being satisfied the Ohio Comp'y would not wish to reap

from us the fruits of our Labours, & gain an acquisition by our Loss, we request the Ohio Comp'y to grant to us so much of the Land relinquished to the Ohio Comp'y by Mr. Craige, as shall include the Town of Gallipolis & the four acre Lots adjacent thereto, if the residue of the Lands relinquished by Mr. Craige will defray the expenses which the Ohio Comp'y incurred relative to that Negotiation between the Ohio Comp'y & Scioto Comp'y.)

(These Circumstances we wish the agents of the Ohio Comp'y to take into consideration & grant our request.) P. BUREAU,

(MARIETTA, DECR. 7, 1795.) R. J. MEIGS, JUN.

*Therefore we request that the agent of the Ohio Company, would bargain & sell unto us the fractional parts of mile Squares No. (28) and number (34) of the third Township of the fourteenth Range, for such price as shall be agreed on, & subject to such conditions & Regulations as they shall deem expedient & proper.

Signed— { P. BUREAU,
M. BARTHELOT,
R. J. MEIGS, JR.

MARIETTA, DECR. 17, 1795.

The statements contained in that part of the document embraced in the brackets were erased in the original ms. by the mutual consent of the parties concerned. The Ohio Co. refused to give the French the land on which their town stood and the French changed their request in that they asked that the land in question be sold them at a nominal price. (See that portion of ms. following the brackets). The petition as then amended was granted.

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Selections from the Torrence Papers, III

Arranged and Edited by

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Merrick Whitcomb.

CONTENTS.

- I. Jan. 11, 1800, G. S. WAU TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- II. July 18, 1800, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- III. Oct. 15, 1801, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- IV. Sept. 22, 1804, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- V. Jan. 24, 1817, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- VI. Jan. 11, 1818, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- VII. Feb. 8, 1819, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- VIII. May 11, 1823, MOSES DAWSON TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- IX. Jan. 1, 1824, JOHN FINDLAY TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- X. Jan. 21, 1825, JONATHAN JENNINGS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- XI. Feb. 22, 1825, JONATHAN JENNINGS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- XII. Jan. 22, 1826, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JACOB BURNET.
- XIII. Feb. 18, 1826, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JACOB BURNET.
- XIV. Apr. 7, 1826, O. M. SPENCER TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- XV. Jan. 17, 1828, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO BELLAMY STORER.
- XVI. Mar. 4, 1828, MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

Selections from the Torrence Papers, III

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON
TO 1829, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE FINDLAY
AND OTHER LETTERS.

FOREWORD.

The following selections from the Torrence Papers, supplemented by a few letters from the miscellaneous files of the collections of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, are designed to illustrate certain phases of the earlier political and personal career of General William Henry Harrison, eighth president of the United States. The amount of material for this purpose, either within the collections of the Society, or elsewhere, that was readily accessible to the editor is not large, and much of it is trivial in character. This is due not merely to the greater prominence of his military career, but likewise to the inexcusable neglect with which the public has treated his literary remains as well as his final resting place. It is hoped that the present publication will assist in a small way in beginning another course.

It is true that General Harrison was never a great national figure and he would probably be given only a secondary position among the statesmen of the Old Northwest. Yet he placed his name permanently on the list of our presidents and leading generals; he marked his political and military career by important measures of state and national policy; and he made evident new elements in American politics in the memorable campaign that elevated him to the Chief Magistracy.

General Harrison was the first territorial delegate to serve in our national Congress, to which he was admitted under the Ordinance of 1787—our first Colonial Charter. As a member of this body he devised a plan for disposing of the public lands that forms the first important step in the development of a true homestead policy. Thus appropriately beginning a pioneer political career, he closes it by being the first candidate selected upon the ground of expediency alone for the high office which he first rendered vacant by his untimely demise. For these reasons, if for no other, his life merits an occa-

sional notice, such as the present, in the region where he was once an honored and respected citizen.

This is hardly the place for an extended sketch of General Harrison, although such would be a *desideratum*, for he has found no biographer aside from eulogistic campaign writers, whose sketches are largely based upon Moses Dawson's labored defence. The latter work appeared before its hero loomed large on the contemporary political horizon, and was given a controversial cast because of General Winchester's attacks upon his military reputation. To understand properly a career crowned by an honor which much greater men vainly coveted would necessitate a careful examination of the annals of legislature and Congress, of contemporary periodicals, and of a desultory and difficult correspondence, the existence and importance of which may only be conjectured. Doubtless these difficulties have deterred local historians from undertaking this task in the past, but it is to be hoped that within the near future a different report may be rendered. This publication may possibly assist in such an undertaking.

Although attempting no formal sketch of General Harrison's life, the editor ventures to suggest a method of grouping the following letters. The first relates to his brief career as delegate from the "Territory Northwest of the Ohio." Then follow a few personal letters (II-IV) belonging to the early years of his governorship of Indiana Territory. Letters V to VII show some of his activities during three years' service in the House of Representatives from 1816 to 1819. No letters relating to his career in the Ohio Senate or to his unsuccessful race for Congress in 1822, appear in this issue, although there are scattered references to these matters in later letters and in the notes. Moses Dawson's letter of May 11, 1823 (No. VIII) fittingly stands in a class by itself. The letters from IX to XVI, inclusive, belong to the period when as prospective or actual United States Senator, he aspires to diplomatic and even to vice-presidential honors. This period closes with his recall by President Jackson from the Colombia mission in 1829; and as this significant date conveniently divides the political career of our subject, we may accept it as a temporary stopping place. His later correspondence will be treated in a subsequent issue.

Certain minor changes in the methods of editing may be noticed. In the preparation of the material Miss Hamlin has rendered her usual valuable assistance.

I. J. Cox.

I.

C. S. WAU TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 22, No. 44.]

PHILADELPHIA, JANU. 11, 1800.

Dear Sir,

Last evening at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 o'clock the question for disbanding the 12 additional Regiments,¹ after laboring in the house since Monday morning, was decided in the negative, 60 being in favor of the military system of defence and thirty-eight against it. Thus you see our *federal strong measures*, obtain, notwithstanding the pensylvania election² etc., and other circumstances might have led us to fear a diminution of them.

W. H. Harrison from *our* territory, has come forward very handsomely,—and I think will soon make as respectable a figure on the floor of Congress as any member there.³ He only wants to be as well known as others are, to be so now. I cannot help mentioning this, because I know it will afford you as much pleasure to hear it as it does me to see it; he is highly esteemed by all who know him, and I hope

¹ These regiments were raised under the act of July 16, 1798, which was passed as a result of the excitement over the X. Y. Z. Affair. The debate on the question of disbandment is found in *Annals 6th Congress*, p. 247-369. The vote (*Ibid*, 369), is 60 to 39, rather than that given by the writer. Harrison's speech on Jan. 9th, (*Ibid*, 316), was in opposition to the resolution, because, as he stated, the militia, on account of frequent desertions, could not be depended upon for protection. He believed that he spoke the sentiments of nine-tenths of his constituents.

² On the 8th of the preceding October, Thomas McKean, the Republican candidate, was elected Governor over James Ross, Federalist. Cf. McMaster, *History of the People of the U. S.*, II, 448.

³ When Harrison presented his credentials, December 9, 1799, they were referred to the Committee on Elections to determine whether the "Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River be entitled to a delegate who may have a seat in this house." The report of the committee, on the 16th, was to the effect that Harrison should be given a seat, with the right to debate, but not to vote. Later, the Senate passed a House bill extending to Harrison the franking privilege and making compensation for his services. Cf. *Annals Sixth Cong.*, pp. 20, 21, 197, 201. In addition to the speech referred to in the preceding note, Harrison, as Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, was mainly instrumental in effecting a change in the method of their sale, which greatly benefitted the small purchaser. Cf. Hinsdale, *Old Northwest*. He also succeeded in improving the mode of locating military warrants.

you will not suffer any one in the territory to supplant him, for I think, his abilities, and federalism, if rendered active, and cherished by a reelection, will be [of] infinite service to the western interest.

I wish you would tell your neighbour Austin not to forget to write me the December letter which he has promised me.

I had some hopes of seeing you again before you left this country, but as I had not that pleasure, will thank you to make up for it by writing me a line, and letting me know how you come on in your Legislative and executive concerns.⁴

II.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 42.]

RICHMOND, [VA], JULY 18TH, 1800.

Dear Findlay,

It has been a long time since I received a line from you—what can be the reason? I arrived here with my wife and family about six weeks ago. Mrs. H. is not very well. What are you doing at Cincinnati? does trade flourish? are the crops promising? what has our Distillery⁵ done last winter? I should like to hear from you on all these subjects. I expect to leave this State about the 10th of October for the Ohio and shall see you at Cincinnati about the 10th of Nov[embe]r. Who is talked of as my successor in Congress?⁶ Do not abuse me for filling my letter with interrogatories; I could give you no intelligence from hence, that would not be old by the time you received it, as you get the Philadelphia papers regularly. By a paragraph in the Norfolk paper of Monday last I see that Gen[era]l Wilkinson and his family have arrived there after a tempestuous voyage of 35 days from the

⁴ Findlay was one of the five members of the Territorial Executive Council.

⁵ On August 10, 1797, James Smith, of Cincinnati, writes to James Findlay [Box 21, No. 56] that Captain W. Harrison and himself had purchased, for \$600, a distillery on Deer Creek, adjoining Hunt's tanyard, and intended to commence distilling immediately on a large scale. Smith wished Findlay to procure a good man to take charge of it, as neither of the proprietors could give it their personal attention. Harrison once offered his share in the distillery to Judge Burnet [Box 10, No. 40]. In his later political career, Harrison found his early interests in a distillery something of a handicap. Cf. S. J. Burr, *Life and Times of William Henry Harrison*, p. 258.

⁶ Harrison served only one year of his term, when President Adams appointed him as Governor of the newly-created Indiana Territory. A certain G. Laughlin writes to Findlay about this time [Box 14, No. 9], expressing a wish to succeed Harrison.

mouth of the Mississippi. I must get the favour of you to enter with the auditor the following described land and pay the taxes for it—4000 acres surveyed for my brother-in-law, Anthony Singleton deceased. I do not know where this land has been located except one-thousand acres which is described as lying on the waters of the little Miami and of course in Hamilton County. The other 3000 acres must be entered as lying some where in the Virginia Reserve between the Scioto and Miami. The quality of this land is not known so that it must be entered second Rate. I wish you to enter and pay also for 1000 acres of land the property of Seth Bird of the State of New York in the Ohio Company purchase. The site of this land is not known either but I suppose if the money is paid to the Auditor it will prevent a forfeiture ; dont fail to pay the taxes on this land as I have promised the owner that it shall not be neglected.

Give Mrs. H. [arrison]'s and my best regards to Mrs. Findlay and to Smith and all our mutual friends.

Yours truly,

Jas. Findlay, Esqr.

William H. Harrison.

III.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 43.]

VINCENNES, 15TH OCT., 1801.

Dear Findlay,

I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 22nd August a few weeks ago. Mrs. Harrison and myself are much rejoiced to hear that Mrs. Findlay enjoys better health than formerly for be assured that we both feel for her a sincere regard. My family have I think enjoyed quite as much health here as they have ever done. My youngest child⁷ has been until lately a good deal afflicted but is now much better ; and I have had the ague and fever—that is, I had three fits of it, but am now as well perhaps better than I have been for several years. I am much pleased with this country—nothing can exceed its beauty and fertility. I have purchased a farm of about 300 acres joining the town which is all cleared. I am now engaged in fencing it and shall begin to build next spring if I can find the means. How comes on the Distillery? I wish you to send me some Whiskey as soon as possible,

⁷ Lucy Singleton Harrison (1800-1826), who was born in Richmond [Box 10, No. 42] and became the wife of Judge David K. Este, of the Ohio Supreme Court.

consign it to the care of Messrs. Prather & Smiley of Louisville who will take charge of it and send it to me and will thank you to send me also a couple of calf skins and a little soal [sic] leather. Cant you continue to patch up some sort of settlement between us? I will leave entirely to yourself knowing that it will be done as well as the circumstances will permit; for my part I know nothing of the business.

I wish you could muster resolution enough to take the woods and pay us a visit, I am sure you will be so much pleased with this place and the prospects that you would consent to move here. I now nominate to you Mr. William Prince as a proper person to be appointed your Deputy⁸ here. He is a very honest man and a clever fellow. We have here a Company of troops commanded by Honest F. Johnston of the 4th. We generally spend half the day together making war upon the partridges, grouse and fish—the latter we take in great numbers in a seine. Is there no one with you who will purchase my tract of land on Mill Creek below ^{Simmons} Hutchinson [word illegible] Mill? I have there 419 acres which I would sell very low. I dont know but I would take two Doll[ar]s. per acre in *Cash*.

I have long given up the Judge⁹ as a ruined man—which he owes in part to himself but much more the cursed Malevolence of his enemys. They have however in some measure got this reward in the loss of character. I have heard several disinterested respectable persons speak of the treatment he has met with—with horror and detestation. Give Mrs. H[arrison]'s and my best regards to Mrs. Findlay and to Smith if he is in the land of the living—to Dr. Sillman and family and all who remember us with friendship.

IV.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 44.]

VINCENNES, 22ND SEPT., 1804.

Dear Findlay,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters—one by post and one by Mr. Thomas. I began to think that you had forgotten me

⁸Upon Harrison's recommendation President Adams had appointed Findlay as Receiver of the public money from land sales at Cincinnati, and Mr. Prince was to act as his Deputy at Vincennes. Cf. Box 10, No. 41. William Prince was a member of the first Indiana Senate from Gibson County. Cf. Dillon, *Indiana*, p. 560.

⁹He evidently refers to his father-in-law, Judge John Cleves Symmes, whose land speculations had proven unfortunate.

as some of my other friends in Cincinnati have done. I have long wished to pay you a visit but I have been hitherto prevented sometimes by Public and oftentimes by private business. I hope however that this will not always be the case. During the whole of this summer and part of last I have been engaged in building a large House¹⁰ which will I fear prove rather too expensive for my finances. However the trouble and three fourths of the expense will be at an end in a few days and by next Spring I shall be in a situation to accomodate you and your *large* family,¹¹ if you should think is worth your while to come and see us. Independent of the gratification of seeing your old friend you will be interested in the Country around this place—the appearance of which is altogether different from anything you ever saw.¹²

I did not accept Mr. Shorts¹³ offer because I was informed that \$1600 was not enough for my preemption Right; and had I been inclined to have taken \$1600 the land which he offered me was certainly not worth 400\$. I have written to my brother to assist me in paying the first instalment in January next, and as I know he has the command of money I calculate with certainty upon receiving assistance from him unless he has entered into some engagement that I am unaquainted with. I am very much indebted both to Killgour¹⁴ and yourself for the Indulgence shown with regard to the fees.

Mrs. Harrison requests you to present her in the most affectionate terms to Mrs. Findlay. She (Mrs. H.) . . . is very much distressed at my being obliged to leave her. I shall set out for Louisiana about the 2d or 3d of October.¹⁵

¹⁰ This house was afterwards the scene of the famous conference with the Indian Chief Tecumseh, August 12, 1810.

¹¹ Findlay had no children.

¹² A few months latter [Box 10, No. 45.] Harrison mentions as one of the attractions of Vincennes the “prodigious number of children” to whose production the climate was supposed to be “uncommonly favorable.”

¹³ Probably Peyton Short who was then extensively interested in real estate operations in Cincinnati.

¹⁴ Probably David Kilgour a merchant of Cincinnati. See *Cincinnati Directory* 1819.

¹⁵ After the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase, Harrison for a time, upon Jefferson's recommendation served as Governor of the upper part of the territory, which was then officially designated as “Louisiana.” This particular visit was rendered necessary by the state of Indian relations. The omitted portion of the letter refers to one of the hardships inseparable from frontier life. Cf. Dawson, *Historical Narrative*, p. 59; Burr, *Life and Times of Harrison*, p. 299.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 49.]

WASHINGTON, 24TH JANV., 1817.

Dear Findlay.

Well the cursed compensation law¹⁶ which has cost us so much time and trouble has this day been disposed of. It is repealed to take effect only at the end of the session. In every stage of the bill I voted for the old compensation of 6\$ and to take effect immediately but without success. All the opposers of the 1500\$ loan were however obliged upon the passage of the repealing bill to vote for it, as by voting against it the law of the last session would have continued in force. It is said that the Senate will pass it without amendment.

The Committee of investigation upon my own case¹⁷ this day made their report; I will send it here-with if it is printed in the paper of to-morrow. Mr. Hulbert's observations were received with great approbation by the House. I believe my friends in the Senate have been waiting for this Report in order to introduce their Resolution which was offered last year.¹⁸ Morrison¹⁹ and Taylor are on the wing

¹⁶An interesting summary of Congressional action on this subject is given in McMaster, IV, 358-362; 371. The debates on the repeal of the law are found in *Annals 14 Cong. 2nd. Session*, p. 483 ff. Harrison's own speech occurs *Ibid.* 692, 693, and is also reported in the *Western Spy* of April 11, 1817.

¹⁷At the opening of the session Harrison had demanded an investigation of certain charges affecting his relations during the late war with an army contractor. Mr. R. M. Johnson, as chairman of the committee appointed for the purpose, brought in a report completely exonerating him of improper connection with his commissariat, or interference with the rights of contractors. Mr. Hulbert of Mass., who acknowledged that he had entered upon the investigation with prejudice against the General, frankly confessed his change of opinion, and closed by stating that "instead of deserving censure, he [Harrison] merits the thanks and applause of his country." Cf. *Annals 14 Cong. 2nd Sess.*, pp. 709, 710; DAWSON, 459, 460.

¹⁸While the investigation mentioned in the preceding note was under way a resolution came before the Senate to present medals to General Harrison and Governor Shelby for meritorious conduct in the battle of the Thames. Upon motion of Mr. Lacock of Pennsylvania, the name of Harrison was struck out from the resolutions by a vote of 13 to 11. After the acceptance of Colonel Johnson's report by the House, Mr Dickerson of New Jersey, renewed the resolution, which, on being postponed till the following session, passed the Senate unanimously on March 30, 1818, and on the same day went through three readings in the House, and was carried with only one dissenting voice. Cf. *Annals 14 Cong. 2nd. Sess.*, p. 1648, Burr, *Life and Times of William Henry Harrison*, 237-243. The medal does not seem to

for Philadelphia to attend to the final arrangements for our Bank—I have been consulted today about the Directory. The list that was sent from Cincinnati is much complained of—Somebody has blabbed out that you are all federalists. This it is said will not answer.²⁰ I was asked to name Republicans and choose the best federalist. Burnet is at the head of my list for President and I have vouched for the Republicanism of yourself, Torrence, Este, Piatt, Keyes, and Dr. Ramsay.²¹ Will not the five first mentioned call me to account for having caluminated you—I have written to Jones, Willing and Leiper²² in favour of Burnet as President. Taylor came to me today and told me that he thought it was a fixed principle not to have a Federal President and urged my taking it. I positively declined and have again written in favor of Burnet, but I told Taylor and Morrison that if they found that any person but Burnet or some one whom our friends could approve would certainly come in he might as a Dernier resort bring me in that we might have time to look about us.

have been presented at that time; at least we may so interpret a letter of General T. S. Jesup in September, 1824. Cf. Box 13, No. 26.

¹⁹ Probably James Morrison, of Lexington, Ky., formerly an army contractor. [Cf. Torrence Papers. Box 17, Nos. 50-55]; and General James Taylor, of Covington, who was afterwards one of the directors of the Lexington branch of the United States Bank. He furnished the *Western Spy* with a list of the directors chosen for the Cincinnati Branch. Cf. *Western Spy*, Feb. 7, 1817.

²⁰ The editorials and news items from the *Western Spy* during this period show that there was a bitter rivalry between Cincinnati and Chillicothe for the location of the Ohio Branch of the Second United States Bank. Governor Worthington recommended that the State legislature petition the directors to establish the branch at Chillicothe, and left the State in a visit to Philadelphia in order to present in person the claims of the latter place. This rivalry may have caused the complaints against the proposed list of Cincinnati directors—complaints which appear well founded so far as Harrison's list is concerned, if the proscription of former Federalists was to be the rule in the appointment of directors,

²¹ The list of directors as published in the *Western Spy* for Feb. 7, 1817, is as follows: Martin Baum, James Findlay, James Riddle, David K. Este, William Sterrett (of Chillicothe), John S. Gano, James Keyes, Jacob Burnet, Daniel Drake, John H. Piatt, George P. Torrence, John Sutherland, and Hugh Glenn. It was understood that Martin Baum was empowered to take measures for the immediate establishment of the Branch, so Harrison's recommendation of Burnet did not result in placing that well-known Federalist at the head of the new enterprise.

²² William Jones, of Philadelphia, was the first president of the Second U. S. Bank; Thomas M. Willing and Thomas Leiper, also of Philadelphia, were directors. Cf. *Niles Register*, XIII, 377.

My military report²³ has not yet been published in the [I]ntelligencer but I expect it will be out in a day or two. I intended to have sent you one printed for the H[ouse] of R[epresentatives] but they were all scratched up. We have done nothing as yet but passed the compensation law or rather the act repealing the former one and an act altering the Commissioners law, as it is called, of the last session.²⁴ The latter is still before the Senate nor do I know what its fate will be. In the meantime all the claims are Hung up. If the bill passes in its present shape it will take three years for the accountant to pass upon all the claims. The office is so crowded with business that it is hardly possible to get through that which appropriately belongs to it. It was only the day before yesterday that I got the warrent [sic] in Smiths case. I will write to Burnet if possible before the mail closes. If I do not I wish him to pay Smith \$43 $\frac{50}{100}$ and I will pay that sum for him to Finley & Van Lear on account of his barrel of wine, I have received their bill.

There is I understand great difficulty in arranging the new Cabinet and the thing is still *so afloat* that it is impossible to say How it will be finally fixed—there will certainly be one of the principle [sic] Secretaries from the West. Clay was offered the War Dep[artmen]t. before he left K[entuck]y., which it is said he positively refused. If I were to give an opinion it would be that he will not be in the

²³ Harrison, as chairman of the House Committee on Militia, presented a bill proposing a change in the militia system. His accompanying report stated that a government such as ours should rely for defense upon its militia rather than regular troops; that this militia should be disciplined; and that to this end military instruction should be combined with ordinary education. In some respects his plan was based upon a report of Secretary Knox. Although meeting the approval of the coming administration, it was judged necessary to seek an amendment to the Constitution before the system could be adopted. On February 3, 1817, Harrison presented a resolution for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the necessity of such an amendment. After a discussion during which he delivered a speech that elicited favorable comment, the resolution was tabled. Cf. *Annals 14th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 845 ff.*

²⁴ The previous session of the 14th Congress had passed an act for the payment of property lost or destroyed by reason of military necessity during the late war. In his message of December, 1816, the President had regarded the procedure of the commissioner under the act, Richard Bland Lee, as doubtful, and had directed suspension of payments pending further action by Congress. The debate shows that there was reason for his suspicion. Colonel Richard M. Johnson and General Harrison attempted to have the commissioner empowered to continue his functions, subject to revision by one of the departments, but were unsuccessful. Cf. *Annals 14th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 246, 298, 372, 448.*

ministry. My reasons are that he will accept of nothing but the Dep[artmen]t. of State and that he will not get, as I think. It is considered as the stepping stone to the Presidency. Of course all who want the latter will push for the former—Crawford—Adams—I believe it is not decided which. I have heard that many of the candidates will not serve with Adams at all. It is said that he is a disgusting man to do business. Coarse, *Dirty*, and clownish in his *address* and *dress* and stiff and abstracted in his opinions, which are drawn from books exclusively. You ask will the W[ar] D[epartmen]t be offered to me; I answer—I cannot tell. I *know* the *wishes* of the P[residen]t Elect are in my favor, but then other circumstances are to be considered besides his wishes. I think if Crawford remains in the Ministry he will endeavor to get me associated with him; but he will never maneuver to do anything. He comes at the thing always in the most direct way—nobody gives opinions publicly but him. He was asked a few weeks ago at the Drawing room by a gentleman of this City who would be Sec[retar]y of War—"I don't know, Gen[era]l H[arrison] ought to be" was his reply. If it is offered shall I accept it?²⁵ Tell all the persons who have claims in my hands that, I have done and will do my utmost for them. You will see that the Commissioner for lost property has been stopped in his proceedings. Johnson and myself with some others fought hard to prevent it but were defeated. Give my best regard to Mrs. F[indlay]. Show this letter to Torrence, Burnet and Sloo.

VI.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
[Box 10, No. 54.]

WASHINGTON, 17TH JANU, 1818.

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 7th inst was this moment received—together with letters from Cincinnati of the 21st ultimo.

I have sent you newspapers three times a week since the commencement of the session endorsed "Via Marietta" but I suspect that they have been retained in some of the postoffices to accommodate the postriders. I have a few days since only received the Cin-

²⁵ After Clay refused the war portfolio it was bestowed upon Governor Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, who was constrained to decline it on account of advanced age. Calhoun then accepted the charge.

cinnati papers containing the President's speech. I am now employed in enquiring into the defects of the western mails.²⁶

I could not answer your inquiries in relation to taxing the banks in a way that would be satisfactory. I have therefore declined it.

You will see by the papers I have enclosed by this days mail that the House of Representatives have been engaged for a week on a subject somewhat disgraceful to the Western country.²⁷ The debate exhibited great abilities on the part of some of the speakers.

The subject of Amelia Island will occasion another debate of great interest and I apprehend *much heat*.²⁸ I believe that a great proportion of the Members condemn the measure.

Your friend,

Willm H. Harrison.

P. S. If you knew the number of letters I receive you would pity me—the reading of them is intolerable labour.

VII.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 51.]

[WASHINGTON, FEB. 8TH, 1819.]

Dear Findlay,

I shall make no apology for asking you to take Symmes into your office for some weeks to give him an opportunity of learning how the business is done. I intend to send him as soon as possible to Vincennes, where I have something (more than a probability of getting him an appointment) but this must be confidential—because it must not appear that he went there for the purpose of getting an office.²⁹

²⁶ The *Western Spy* for this period is filled with complaints of the mail service between Cincinnati and the East, as well as that with Kentucky points. The carriers were careless or poorly equipped, and as a result mails were delayed and occasionally detained in the offices to favor one contractor over another.

²⁷ After a long debate, Colonel John Anderson was censured by the House for an attempt to bribe Congressman Williams, of North Carolina, in connection with some Raisin River claims. In the correspondence between the two, Harrison was mentioned as favoring the claims, but there is no suggestion of the least irregularity in his position. Cf. *Annals 15th Cong., 1st Sess.*, Vol. I, *passim*.

²⁸ Cf. McMaster IV, 436; *Annals 15th Cong., 1st Sess.*, Vols. I and II, *passim*.

²⁹ The *Official Register for 1822*, p. 50, reports J. C. S. Harrison as Receiver of Public Moneys at Vincennes, Ind. He continued in this position till removed by President Jackson, in May, 1829. Opposition newspapers, in 1822, comment bitterly upon Harrison's policy of getting his sons into the public service.

We still carry on the Seminole war. Mr. Clay was speaking when the committee arose on Saturday. I hope we shall table the question today.³⁰ It has I fear destroyed all chance of getting through the House many important bills. I shall vote in favour of some of the Resolutions—Particularly that which disapproves the taking possession of the Spanish posts. I spoke at considerable length on the question and from what I have heard since lost no credit.³¹ I believe that the ground I took will be that which when the question is understood by the nation will be considered the correct one.

The long pending duel between Gen[era]l. Mason and Mr. McCarty³² was decided on Saturday near this place. Mason was killed and McCarty wounded in the arm—they fought with muskets at *ten feet* distance. Masons ball struck the breech of Mc.C.[arty]'s Musket and it was with a splinter from it that he was wounded.

My best regards to Mrs. Findlay.

VIII.

MOSES DAWSON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 5, No. 9.]

Sir,

Some of the professed friends of General Harrison having set their faces against the publication of his memoirs as projected in the prospectus lately published I have endeavoured to find out the reasons for their opposition to the work—these I find to be that “it savours of Egotism for a man to have the memoirs of his life published under his own sanction and authority which they understand this to be; that such a measure will injure the General by keeping up the excitement

³⁰ These references enable us to date the letter as above. For Clay's speech on February 6th, Cf. *Annals 15th Cong., 2d Sess.*, Vol. I.

³¹ Harrison's speech of February 3 is found in *Annals 15th Cong., 2d Sess.*, p. 1012-1030. The voting on Mr. Cobb's resolutions occurred on February 8th, after Harrison had written the above letter. Harrison believed that the execution of Arbuthnot was justifiable, but not that of Ambrister, and voted accordingly, as is revealed by the reports of the call of the House, 108-62, 107-63. The list of those voting shows that he was the only one to hold this position. Harrison also voted to disapprove the taking possession of the Spanish posts. Cf. *Ibid*, 1135, 1138; *McMaster IV*, 451-456.

³² General A. T. Mason was then Senator from Virginia, and John M. McCarty was his cousin. For the details of the duel and of the ensuing action of Congress, Cf. *Niles XV*, 464.

lately raised against him and raise up a host of enemies by which his character will the more severely suffer."

Sir, I believe you to be a sworn friend to General Harrison—I have no doubt that you have heard all I have above quoted, and I beg leave to submit to you a few observations on the reasons assigned for opposing the publication of the Book. The first, as to egotism, I conceive is entirely done away by the consideration that the intended publication is to be as much a defence of his character as a history of those events connected with his life. His character as a Soldier and as a citizen has been impugned not only by the faction which opposed him at the election but by a man who the world must know had at least an opportunity of observing his military career.³³ Now I cannot conceive that a person placed in his circumstances could be justly charged with egotism for attempting a defence of his character thus assailed. Nor can I see any good reason why that defence may not be made in the form of a narrative of his life and publick services, but on the contrary I think such a defence founded on plain matters of fact and corroborated by the testimony of living men of high standing in society and of acknowledged character for virtue and veracity must be more efficient than attempt at refutation by a mere train of logical reasoning.

A man's life is like a book; it has its text and context—and before any part of it be condemned the whole should be taken into consideration, and in the present case there have been parts of the General's conduct called in question which requires a general and particular contemplation of his life to enable us to judge of the weight and validity of the charges made against him.

As to the second reason given, it defeats itself. It seems to be founded on the principle that a man is not to return a blow given him by another lest his adversary should continue the assault. It presupposes that General Harrison has been guilty of something which has never yet been touched upon by his enemies, and therefore, in policy, he should submit to what has been said lest worse should follow.

Now I am seriously of the opinion that from the great exertions used by a numerous faction, to call up everything possible against him, and from the conviction that they have been obliged to resort to the most glaring falsehood to make out their case, that every possible objection that could be made to his character has already been brought

³³ The references are to the election of 1822, when James Gazley beat Harrison for Congress, and to General Winchester.

forward and that the excitement cannot be more effectually kept up by the publication in question than it will be by the continual lucubrations in the National Intelligencer by General Winchester.³⁴

Against this latter attack surely the cautious sensitive friends of General Harrison must admit a defence ought to be made. In doing so the events of the North western war must be alluded to, and if such defence be necessary and the transactions of those campaigns must be brought in elucidate it—surely there can no harm, no impropriety, no breach of decorum in casting the book into that form which would make it more interesting to the publick that it would be by being merely controversial.

Make the book a defence and few indeed will be at the trouble of reading it, in fact it may be questioned whether any but such as are already satisfied with the character of Gen[era]l H[arrison], but make it the repository of those events so extremely interesting to the people at large and to those of the Western states in particular—let a detail of these events be given sanctioned by the authority of living witnesses, and you will compell the most indifferent and the most prejudiced person to read—and not only to read but to transmit the book to posterity for their information on a subject which must be vital to them and their interests.³⁵

Such, sir, have been my reflections on this subject but there is another which I do think requires the mature consideration of the General's friends and that it that the matter has been carried too far for us so to recede with honour, the prospectus has been published in the paper and it has been widely distributed among the friends of the General as well as among my own at a distance ; it would therefore appear in a very questionable or rather a suspicious light if the publication should be given up.³⁶

The project is by no means a new or a lately taken up Idea, it has

³⁴ This is a reference to the attacks of General Winchester which began to appear in the National Intelligence as early as 1817. [See *Western Spy*, Nov. 28, 1817.] The principal point in controversey was the Campaign in 1813, which resulted in the Raisin River Massacre although Winchester attacked Harrison for the alleged methods used by the latter to supplant him in military rank.

³⁵ It is unfortunate that the most complete biography of Harrison, although one that leaves much to be desired, is this labored defense of Dawson, finally published at Cincinnati in 1824.

³⁶ The Cincinnati *Independent Press* of October 30, 1823, asks "Brother Mosey" why his book is not forthcoming, and suggests that perhaps the hero does not furnish copy fast enough.

been under consideration for several months. If those friends who now oppose it, had known it before the final decision was made, it would have been a much better time to have passed their veto against—but you will perceive that the proposal having been once made it would be extremely inconsistent indeed, as well as dangerous to General Harrison's reputation to have it suppressed.

I am Sir, with great respect

May 11th, 1823

Your obedt. servt.

General Findlay

Moses Dawson.

Cincinnati

IX.

JOHN FINDLAY TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 8, No. 31.]

WASHINGTON CITY, JANUARY 1ST, 1824.

Dear Sir—

. . . Altho there is a very strong recommendation in favor of Genl Harrison I think he will not be appointed. The President would think it would be giving too much to the State of Ohio, having so lately appointed Judge McLean post master General. The Penn[sylvanian]s. would be in favor of Gen[era]l Harrison in preference to Mr. Baldwin; and if the Pennsylvanians cannot get Mr. Dallas of Ph[iladelphi]a. appointed, I think many of them will go for Genl Harrison.³⁷

I can say very little about your neighbour Gazley³⁸ my acquaintance with him is very slight. He appears to me pleasant and agreeable, we are on the same committee. He will make a spouting Member; I find he is very fond of hearing himself speak, and he had better be

³⁷ The *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams do not, at this time, mention Harrison's name in connection with the Mexican Mission, as is the case a year later. There was, however, a strong sentiment among the members of the Pennsylvania delegation, under the leadership of Samuel D. Ingham, in favor of George M. Dallas in preference to Henry Baldwin, of Pittsburg [Cf. *Quarterly* II, pp. 29, 32]. Dallas's claims were not considered by the Administration at this time, on account of his lack of age and experience, so Ninian W. Edwards, of Illinois, received the appointment. Owing to his complicity in the "A. B. Plot" against Secretary Crawford [Cf. Benton, *Thirty Years' View*], Edwards was compelled to resign before entering upon the duties of his office.

³⁸ James Gazley defeated Harrison in the election for Congress in 1822 [Cf. *Independent Press*, Nov. 21, 1822], and two years later was himself defeated by General James Findlay.

careful or he will blow himself out. He offered a resolution a day or two ago to have an inquiry into the situation of the college Township.³⁹ I suppose he thinks he can expose Gen[era]l Harrison in some way or other.

X.

JONATHAN JENNINGS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 13, No. 9.]

WASHINGTON, JAN. 21ST, 1825.

THE HON. GEORGE TORRENCE,

Dear Sir—By a letter from my Bro[the]r at Columbus, I learn that Gen[era]l Harrison has communicated to him, observations of mine to you when last in Cincinnati. At that time I did not expect that these observations would be considered worthy of further attention. In writing to my Bro[the]r in reply, I confirmed the statement made to him by the Gen[era]l. I know not what effect my reply may have, but so much I have no doubt as the feelings of one Bro[the]r might be influenced as it regards personal objections. But since you have been the unexpected means of communication, from a confidence in your honour, I rely on no other results in this affair than such as generosity may characterize as her own.

While the Gen[era]l was an applicant by his friends interference for the embassy to Mexico, if he was not directly himself,⁴⁰ I interfered not in the slightest degree whatever, on either side. While I am known as a sincere enemy, I am far from being implacable. An assurance that I am not be assailed is sufficient to lull me to entire forbearance. Be kind enough to give me some understanding, on what ground the General is disposed to place this affair, and what shall be its result. My first object is to know, the next will be to direct my

³⁹ One of the charges against General Harrison, during the campaign of 1822, was that through his connection with Judge Symmes he held possession unlawfully of the township granted by the Federal government for a college within the Miami district. The charge appears to have been unfounded.

⁴⁰ John Quincy Adams later states (*Memoirs* VI, 524), that Harrison, who had then just taken his seat as Senator from Ohio, was anxious for the Mexican Mission vacated by Ninian Edwards, and was soliciting friends for recommendations. Henry Clay, then Secretary of State, wished Harrison to get the appointment, but did not object to J. R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, who later received it.

course accordingly. I can be neutral, an enemy or a friend, just as I find others disposed toward me.⁴¹

I am with sincere esteem yours, etc., etc.

Jonathan Jennings.

XI.

JONATHAN JENNINGS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 13, No. 10.]

WASHINGTON, FEBY. 22D, 1825.

THE HON. GEORGE P. TORRENCE,

Dear Sir:—Your favour of the 9th inst. I have received and it is entirely satisfactory. I can assure you in the most unconditional and unqualified manner, that I have been applied to more than once to furnish information or documents, with which it was intended to assail General Harrison, in the elections where he was a candidate for the House of Representatives of the U[nited] States, and that in all cases I declined. The communication to my Brother had any [no] such view when he wrote me on the subject, nor was my consent ever asked to its being made use of in any such way, nor do I know that David had any such object. He showed it to Hammond⁴² who I understand kept it in his possession and took it to Columbus or I am misinformed, but I neither did nor can hold myself responsible under the circumstances for all the uses to which it was applied.

The views and course of Gen[era]l H[arrison] strictly viewed never rendered it indispensable that such a long standing collision should have existed between him and myself, and it has kept close on my footsteps, a disadvantageous burden. I have no views that can interfere with his, nor do I feel any desire to thwart his objects if I had the power, but on the contrary, from your letter, I should feel entirely cheerful in aiding and supporting them and although my support would be but limited, occasions might offer, when I might be as serviceable as some who have long since professed more than ever I have done; but I have the vanity to believe, that the General would admit me to have a claim to sincerity.

⁴¹ The enmity between Jennings and Harrison seems to have originated in 1809, when the former was the anti-slavery candidate for territorial delegate from Indiana. Jennings was not only successful in this contest by a small majority, but was later elected first governor of Indiana, and then served in Congress till 1830. Cf. Smith, *Hist. of Indiana* I, 188ff; Dunn, *Hist. of Indiana*, 389ff.

⁴² Charles Hammond, the Cincinnati Editor. Cf. *Quarterly* II, p. 10.

You must be aware of the Union that affected the election of Mr. Adams, and therefore the friends of the President elect, as well as those of Mr. Clay should throw behind them the feuds of the late electioneering campaign and unite in the support of the new administration,⁴³ in which Mr. Clay will occupy the Dep[artmen]t of State. Should the steam boat stop at Cincinnati on my descending the Ohio, it will give me pleasure to give so much of the *Secret History* of Congress and of Washington as I might be able to do and which may be relied on. I am Sir, with unlimited esteem

Your friend & most Obt. Humble Svt.

Jonathan Jennings.

XII.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JACOB BURNET.

[Misc. Files, Unmarked.]

WASHINGTON, 22ND JANY, 1826.

My Dear Sir—

You will have seen that there has been a bill before the H[ouse] of R[epresentatives] for some time which provides for the app[ointmen]t of three additional Judges on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the U[nited] S[tates]. Altho a new proposition—that of substituting the old Circuit system—is now pending, there is I think little doubt but that it will pass in its original shape.⁴⁴ I once spoke to you on the subject of accepting an appointment of this kind and you then told me that you would not accept it. But I have thought that you might reconsider and this letter is to know explicitly whether you will or not, I do not know what influence I may have but all I have shall be exerted in your behalf if you wish it. McLean it is said wishes it. Write me immediately and unreservedly.

The Panama question⁴⁵ still hangs in the Senate. It will come up for discussion on tomorrow or the next day. I am preparing to speak upon it. The opposition will have two or three of the greatest of our speakers, but I believe they will not succeed. The selection of our

⁴³ This sentiment is in marked contrast to the expressions that later appeared concerning the so-called “coalition” of Adams and Clay and are especially surprising since Jennings voted for Jackson.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Quarterly* I, p. 72.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Quarterly* I, p. 73; II, p. 11; McMaster V, 440–450. Harrison’s speech may be found in the Register of Debates.

ministers is unfortunate. The first men in the nation should have been sent. It was indeed offered to Mr. Gallatin and he refused it.

Sargeant⁴⁶ is not looked upon by the major part of the Senate as any thing but a cold Special Pleader. If it was necessary to take the person from Pennsylvania and a Federalist it should have been James Ross.⁴⁷ My respects to your family.

XIII.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JACOB BURNET.

[Misc. Files, Unmarked.]

WASHINGTON, 18TH FEBY., 1826.

My Dear Sir,

I wrote to you some time ago informing you that the bill for increasing the Judges would probably pass into a law and requesting you to say whether you would suffer your friends to bring you [sic] forward your name for the one which will certainly be taken from Ohio. I have not yet received your answer. The bill is still before the Committee of the Senate. An attempt will be made to change the circuits as designated by the bill from the House ; I hope however it will not succeed.⁴⁸

General Findlay and Myself have had a consultation upon the subject of Subscribing to the water works the amount of debt due from Colo[nel] Davis to William Ginn and Co and we hereby authorize you to do in the case whatever you think proper.

My respects to Mrs. Burnet.

XIV.

O. M. SPENCER TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 22, No. 4.]

CINCINNATI, 7TH APRIL, 1826.

Dear Sir,

I wrote to Genl. Harrison sometime since, informing him, that being out of business I found it extremely difficult to support my family

⁴⁶ John Sargeant, of Pennsylvania.

⁴⁷ James Ross (1762-1847), United States Senator from Pennsylvania from 1790 to 1803, was one of the State leaders of the Federal party. Cf. Drake, *Dictionary of National Biography*. Also Note 2, *supra*.

⁴⁸ The Senate did amend the bill and the House refused to concur. Cf. *Register of Debates*, 19th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1149ff.

comfortably, and requesting him should any office affording a small income be created this session, an office which he might think me competent to fill, that he would use his influence and solicit yours, to obtain it for me. I have not yet been favored with a letter from him.

I find that a bill has been reported to the Senate, for establishing a Port of Entry at Cincinnati⁴⁹ and should it pass into a Law, a Collector will of course be appointed. I think that I could discharge the duties of such an office with correctness. You however, are well able to judge of my qualifications, and I know you will feel disposed to serve me—and I need not add that in exerting your influence to obtain the appointment for me you will confer on me an obligation. I have addressed a few lines to Genl. Harrison by this mail. I have just heard the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mrs. Este⁵⁰—she died this morning. I did not mention this in my letter to the General, fearing that an abrupt communication of it might too deeply affect him.

XV.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO BELLAMY STORER

[Misc. Files, No. 175.]

WASHINGTON 17TH JANY 1828.

Dear Sir—

I have been prevented from writing to you for some time on the subject of the Vice presidency from a sense of delicacy, Which upon farther reflection I thought I should not regard, Recollecting that your conduct has always been of the most friendly character towards me. But I thought it proper also to put you in possession of some facts in relation to the above subject which I thought you ought to know. Colo. A. H. Powell of V[irgini]a, one of the late convention and whose name you will see among the Electors recommended by the Convention⁵¹ has just returned to this place (from which he had gone a week before) from Richmond. He left this in the full persuasion that I should be nominated by that convention. At any rate he had

⁴⁹ The bill is not reported in the *Register of Debates*, nor does it then become a law.

⁵⁰ Lucy Singleton Harrison. Cf. Note 7. A reference to her death also occurs in Box 11, No. 46, and in a letter of Jane Findlay Harrison.

⁵¹ An account of the "Virginia Anti-Jackson Convention" appears in *Niles' Register*, XXXIII, 333. B. Harrison and A. H. Powell are mentioned among its members.

not the most distant Idea that Mr. Rush could be taken up there or anywhere else. Because when he left this He was persuaded that a vast majority of the friends of the administration were altogether opposed to it upon the ground that all the strength which he could give to the cause would be given in the station which he now held. Powell was also fully convinced from his conversation with the members (You will recollect that he was a member of the last Congress himself and well acquainted with many of them) that the wishes of the majority were decisively in my favour. With these impressions he arrived in Richmond and being my ardent personal friend, He was in full hopes of communicating to me in a few days that I had been nominated there. Information however was received that Ohio⁵² had declined making any nomination and was indifferent about it. Immediately following that was the nomination of Mr. Rush by the Penn[sylvani]a Convention.⁵³ I had two Nephews in the [Virginia] Convention (one of whom is on the Electoral ticket) several other relations and many warm friends. They were all desirous of Bringing me forward—But how could they do it? My own State which had the first chance had declined to do it. Seemed willing to let others decide the matter. They seemed to themselves as having no other alternative but to do what P[ennsylvani]a had done. And thus (if Mr. R[ush] should be V[ice] P[resident]) the second office in the Government will be made by the management of some half a dozen men in opposition to the wishes of nine tenths of the Party. I can say with truth there was not as I believe a single friend of the administration that favoured Mr. Rush. As the President was to come from them they did not think it proper to oppose anybody. But they did not hesitate to say what were their wishes.

Four days before the nomination of Mr. R[ush] the friends of the Administration Generally here were of the opinion that I certainly would be the candidate.⁵⁴ As an evidence of that I refer you to an Editorial paragraph in the *Cadet* of Providence (R[hode] I[sland]) which Gen[eral] Hendricks has sent to Columbus. Mr. Pierce of the H[ouse] of R[epresentatives] of that State told me that he was the person

⁵² Cf. *Niles' Register*, XXXIII, 316.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 316.

⁵⁴ *Niles' Register* for December 1, 1827, mentions a number of candidates for Vice-president, but Harrison's name does not appear among them, but, as the editor states, there were "possibly others not recollected."

who had given the information upon which the statement was made *that I was to be a candidate*. Now under these circumstances what is Ohio to do? The committee have her honour and interests in their hands. But still the great cause must not suffer. But would it suffer if Ohio were positively and calmly to put forth her pretensions? I think not. I think that the Convention at Harrisburg had no right to take the advantage that she has done of bringing forward one of her citizens without any consultation with the other states. One of her citizens *has* been brought [forward] and there can be no doubt that he would have been accepted and accepted without a murmur from any one as soon as the Ground upon which he was brought forward should be known, i. e. that he could bring more weight to our cause than any other.⁵⁵ Another from the same state already holding a high office and who from that circumstance could add nothing more than he is now giving to the strength of the party must be substituted to the first and the other states must take him up Merely because he has been thus precipitately and unjustly nominated.⁵⁶ Virg[ini]a could not do otherwise than she has done. She had no claims of her own. Ohio had and Ohio seemed to decline them. I say seemed for they had no information of the course they had pursued of nominating a committee and the course which the committee intend to pursue but from a private letter which could not be exhibited.

I think then that if Ohio (by her committee) would have nominated one of her own citizens before the nomination of P[ennsylvani]a there is no earthly reason why she should not do it now. More particularly if Indiana will go with her.

Well, the consequences of this course what are they? Why only upon a due consultation one of the candidates would and must be withdrawn from the contest.

I make you these suggestions but will yield to the decision of the committee whatever it may be. With great regard

I am Yr Hmbe Svt

W. H. Harrison.

B. Storer Esq.

⁵⁵ The reference is to Governor J. A. Schulze, of Pennsylvania, who declined the nomination for Vice-president by the convention of his own State. Cf. *Niles' Register*, XXXIII, 332.

⁵⁶ The reference is to Richard Rush, then serving as Secretary of the Treasury.

XVI.

MORGAN NEVILLE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 18, No. 2.]

CINCINNATI, MARCH 4TH, 1828.

Dear General,

Things go on well here ; but the Jacksonians are about making a party business of the City Electors ; This is an error which I am trying to counteract. We have too many hot-headed Leaders among us.

I suspect the Clay faction have trifled with General Harrison ; the truth is they are his worst enemies here ; they have treated him unfairly for they universally ridicule his pretensions and in no case are they disposed to measure any thing like justice to him.⁵⁷ General Harrison possesses excellent abilities, and has large claims on the good feelings of his Country ; Sound policy and Gratitude both pointed him out to his party for the Vice-Presidency. He is an abler man than Rush., and the West was entitled to the nomination ; a powerful Jackson influence would have gone with him and *out of* Ohio he is more popular than Rush. But Mr. Clay's party will sacrifice everything to gain a State⁵⁸ and preserve the influence of their Idol. The General has been indiscreet in selecting his correspondent here ; give him a hint.

⁵⁷ The Kentucky Convention of December 27, 1827, decided not to nominate a candidate for Vice-president, but to trust to the electors to vote for the candidate most acceptable to the friends of the present Administration. Cf. *Niles' Register*, XXXIII, 316. Possibly this influenced Ohio's action, to which Harrison referred in the preceding letter.

⁵⁸ Pennsylvania, of course.

Quarterly Publication of the His-
torical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio



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OCTOBER-DECEMBER



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Committee in Charge of Publication.

Charles T. Greve.

Merrick Whitcomb.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending
December 2, 1907



CINCINNATI
PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM

OFFICERS FOR 1907-8.

JOSEPH WILBY,	- - - - -	PRESIDENT.
FRANK J. JONES,	- - - - -	VICE-PRESIDENT.
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CHARLES J. LIVINGOOD,	- - - - -	
ELIOTT H. PENDLETON,	- - - - -	

The meetings of the Society are held in its room in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The library is a free public library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
Historical and Philosophical Society
of Ohio for 1907

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

CINCINNATI, DEC. 2ND, 1907.

Mr. President and Members of the Society:

Beyond the statement made annually of the number of additions to the collections of this library acquired during the year, and a short review of what has been done towards the general improvement of its condition, there seems little to mention in this report, which is respectfully submitted for the year 1907.

The accessions to the library have been 299 volumes, 895 pamphlets, 49 unbound manuscripts and 3 bound manuscripts. Of the books added 122 volumes have been given and 177 bought. Of the pamphlets added 880 have been given and 15 bought.

From the income of the Elizabeth Appleton fund there have been purchased 78 volumes and 13 pamphlets. From the Margaret Rives King fund 97 volumes, and from the income of the Colonial Dames Society fund 2 volumes have been purchased. Also 8 periodical publications and 2 pamphlets have been credited to the General fund.

The report for last year stated that the whole number of books in the library was 21,825. Adding this year's accrument of 299 volumes and six others (which were supposed to have been lost and therefore not included in the count last year), give a total of 22,130 volumes in the collection at the present time. The pamphlets number about 67,914.

The manuscripts received are from various sources:

Mr. Bellamy Storer.

Three sermons of the Reverend Seth Storer, delivered at Watertown, Mass. in 1728. The handwriting is quaint, old fashioned and fine, and the sentences are written so compactly that it is impossible to decipher them without a magnifying glass.

Three other sermons delivered at Syracuse in 1831 and 1836. The author's name does not appear.

Mr. Bellamy Storer—Continued.

“A poem Delivered before the Bucinean Society at Brunswick on the day before Commencement, 1822, by Bellamy Storer.”

Three separate appointments of Bellamy Storer as Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, the first signed by Governor William Medill in 1854; the second by Governor Salmon P. Chase in 1857; and the third by Governor Jacob D. Cox in 1867.

Twelve letters addressed to Judge Storer by Rev. J. B. Braithwate, Dr. J. T. Brooke, Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, and one pencilled note by Judge Storer to Hon. Charles Sumner. These papers are accompanied by a Volunteer Fireman's Badge formerly belonging to him.

Mrs. Pitts H. Burt.

Nine documents, which are offers to sell specific lots of land to the Commissioners appointed in 1850 to select a suitable lot in Cincinnati for the erection of a Custom House.

Another paper containing a list of the names of subscribers to the Bust of General Harrison designed by Clavinger, and a document relative to E. C. Roll.

Miss Dora James.

Thirteen papers consisting of one deed, several mortgages and tax receipts, relating to land on Broadway between Fifth and Sixth Streets, which was conveyed in 1823 by Thomas and Mary W. Henderson to Dorothy Mary Ernst. The names of Jacob Ernst and Abner C. James appear on the mortgages.

A bill of Edmund Harrison, for the tuition of Mary and Catherine Ernst during the year 1820, the total amount being \$16.33 $\frac{1}{2}$ which charge is in striking contrast with the present demands for private tuition.

Mr. Davis L. James.

Volumes I and IV of the records of the proceedings of the Cincinnati Horticultural Society. The former contains also the Constitution and By-Laws of that Society. It is to be hoped that the other volumes of these records may be discovered and deposited in the care of this Historical Society.

Mr. Charles W. Short.

A letter addressed to the Hon. Henry Clay, Washington, and written by Peyton Short in the form of a diary, describing in a very attractive manner his tour in 1809 to Mobile, Pensacola, and other points in that southern section.

Mrs. John A. Gano.

An account book of the old Cincinnati firm of Gano & Stanley for the year 1794

Mr. George W. Lewis.

A letter of James G. Blaine to Col. H. C. Parsons, 1887

To Mrs. Charles W. Baker we are indebted for the Second Series of the Pennsylvania Archives, consisting of 19 volumes, and for several other donations.

The Society of the Colonial Dames of America has given one of their publications, entitled “Letters to Washington and accompanying papers,” of dates from 1752 to 1775. This publication consists

of five volumes of valuable historic material and the letters are exact copies of the originals deposited in the Department of State at Washington. And to numerous Historical Societies we owe gifts of Quarterly and Annual Publications which are acceptable on account of their interesting contents and also as evidences of good will, which feeling is assuredly reciprocated by this Society.

The marble bas-relief of Mrs. Margaret Rives King, the work of Sir Moses Ezekiel, has been presented by Mrs. Bellamy Storer. This exquisite representation of one of the Society's most generous and disinterested friends has found a fitting resting place in our reading room, by the side of the portrait of the Hon. Rufus King, the husband. Both will ever be cherished by the members of this Society as among their most valued possessions.

Mr. Louis P. Ezekiel has given to the Cabinet collection a bank check bearing the endorsement of Christine Nilsson. It is interesting principally on account of the signature of the famous singer but it serves also as a memento of the Opera Festival Relief Fund Concert, given at Music Hall, Feb. 17, 1884, for the benefit of the flood sufferers, and represents the 5 per cent on all sales of tickets for that entertainment which was promised and given by Mr. Ezekiel at that time.

A donation to the same collection has been received from Mr. Julius Fleischmann, which will increase in interest as the years roll on. It is the Clearing House check, No. 1, of the Market National Bank for \$10, dated November 4, 1907, payable to bearer, and shows the form in which the banks of this city are meeting the scarcity of currency during the present period.

The members of this Society are naturally interested in the organizing of the Central Ohio Valley Historic Conference and its proceedings during the meetings held in this city in November last, as its purposes are so in accord with our own plans and the scope of our work, which is largely that of collecting, preserving and publishing historic records of a local nature, in so far as our limited resources permit—and in giving encouragement and assistance to those who labor for a more extended knowledge of the early history of our country and its inhabitants.

For this occasion, a small exhibit was prepared from the collection of this Society, in our Reading Room in the Van Wormer Hall, where we are at present located. A portion of this exhibit consisted of a selection of maps, covering several French maps of the seventeenth century, among them the charts of Champlain (1612), Sanson (1656-

7), Hennepin (1683), and others of similar period; the later works of Moll, D'Anville, De Lisle, Bowen, Evans, Jefferys, etc., and a complete group of charts showing the campaigns of the British armies during the Revolution. Others displayed were, Shelton & Kennett's map of the United States and British Colonies of upper and lower Canada, 1816, 55x47, inset: Remnants of Antiquity, with plans of ancient fortifications located in Illinois and Marietta, Ohio; Bourne's original map (1818) of Ohio Company's purchase in Ohio and the donation of 1792; Maxfield Ludlow's original map of the country lying between the Miamis, Ohio, showing the John Cleves Symmes' Patent in full, drawn in 1806; and other early maps of Ohio by Mansfield (1806), Hough & Bourne (1815), Melish (1815). Also, maps of the prehistoric mounds of this region; the lead mines of the upper Mississippi (1820), the early projected plans of the Chesapeake & Ohio canal (1820), sketches of different forts in this vicinity, and several maps of Cincinnati showing its growth and development.

The manuscripts displayed were of national as well as of local interest. Among the most valuable documents exhibited may be mentioned the original manuscript of President Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation; the original deed by the Government to John Cleves Symmes, 1788, of his purchase in the Miami country; the original papers relating to the distribution of lots in Losantiville (Cincinnati) in 1789; manuscript journals of the Ohio House of Representatives during the territorial period; Bills to incorporate Cincinnati, Marietta, Chillicothe, Athens, etc.; the manuscript journal of David Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary; early papers of St. Clair and Wayne; Proclamation by Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory, 1798, directing the first election of representatives to the General Assembly from Hamilton County, with a list of the candidates and electors. Besides those already referred to, there were many original documents and letters bearing the signatures of men of both national and local prominence, such as, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, John Q. Adams, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, William Henry Harrison, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, John C. Symmes, Jacob Burnet, William Stanley, Isaac G. Burnet, Gano, Follett, Baum, Corry, Findlay, James McBride and others.

In addition to the maps and manuscripts shown, there were numerous rare and interesting works of travel from the time of the Italian Ramusio to the present day.

L. BELLE HAMLIN, *Librarian.*

DONORS TO THE LIBRARY.

	VOL.	PAM.
American Library Association,		1
American Jewish Historical Association,	1	
Anti Imperialistic League,		1
Boston City Hospital,	1	
Boston City Register Department,	1	
Chicago Commercial Association,		3
Cincinnati—		
Art Association,		1
Chamber of Commerce,	1	
Law School		1
Museum Association,		11
Ohio Mechanics Institute,	1	9
Orchestra Association,		9
Protestant Episcopal Church Hospital,		2
Public Library,		8
Relief Committee—Cincinnati Flood,		2
University of Cincinnati,		16
Water Works Commission,		1
Cambridge Historical Society,	1	
Chicago Historical Society,	1	4
Colorado College,		6
Colorado Scientific Society,		2
Connecticut Historical Society,	2	
Indiana State Library,		1
Illinois State Historical Society,	2	1
Institutio Geológico de Mexico,	1	1
Iowa Grand Lodge,	1	
Iowa Historical Department,		5
Iowa State Historical Society,		3
Kansas State Historical Society,		1
Lake Mohonk Conference,		2
Louisiana State University Experimental Station,		1
Massachusetts Historical Society,	2	
Medford Historical Society,		3
Mediterranean Yachting Club,		1
Military Order of the Loyal Legion, U. S.—		
California,		34
Iowa,		18
Minnesota,		14
New York,		26
Ohio,	7	18
Wisconsin,		13
Missouri Historical Society,	1	2

	VOL.	PAM.
Museo Nacional de Rio de Janiero,	1	
Nebraska State Historical Society,	2	
Newberry Library,		1
New England Historical and Genealogical Society,		1
New Haven Colony Historical Society,		1
New York Institute for the Deaf and Dumb,		1
New York Public Library,		12
New York State Historical Society,	1	
Nova Scotian Institute of Science,		1
Oberlin College,	1	
Ohio—		
Agricultural Experimental Station,	1	
Board of State Charities,		2
Diocese of Southern Ohio,		1
State Archæological and Historical Society,		4
State Geologist,		1
Ohio Society of New York,	1	
Pennsylvania Prison Society,		1
Rhode Island Historical Society,	1	
Royal Society of Canada,	3	
St. Louis Mercantile Library Association,		1
Society of Colonial Dames of America (N. Y),	5	
Superintendent of Immigration (Canada),	1	
Syracuse Public Library,		1
Texas State Historical Society,		4
Toledo Public Library,		1
United States—		
Bureau of American Ethnology,	3	
Bureau of Education,	1	
Department of Agriculture,	1	
Department of Commerce and Labor,	1	15
Department of the Interior,	2	
Department of War,	1	
Interstate Commerce,		76
Library of Congress,	4	2
Smithsonian Institute,	4	16
Universite de Toulouse,		10
University of California,		2
University of Michigan,		2
University of Toronto,	3	
Vermont Historical Society,		1
Vermont State Library,		1
Washington State Historical Society,		4
William's Directory Company,	1	
Wisconsin Natural History Society,		3
Wisconsin State Historical Society,	2	
Worcester Public Library,		1

	VOL.	PAM.
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,	I	
Yale University,	I	2
Ayer, N. W.,		I
Balch, T. W.,	I	I
Bayard, T. F.,		I
Belotte, T. T.,		I
Carson, E. T.,	I	
Carter, H. C.,	I	
Crank, Mrs. C. D.,		12
Dickore, Mrs. W.,	I	90
Glover, E. W.,		7
Goodwin, F. P.,		I
Greenlaw, Mrs. L. H.,		I
Harrison, C. L., 2 newspapers		
Hartmann, Mrs. P. H.,		8
Hartmann, Miss L.,		I
Kemper, W. M.,	I	
Lord, Mrs. C. W.,		I
Meuth, C.,		I
Moore, C. B.,	I	
Mulvihill, J. J.,	I	
Murphy, W. J.,		I
Perkins, Mrs. J. H.,	2	62
Petsche, T.,		I
Smith, Mrs. W.,	I	
Stetson, J. B.,		I
Stone and Webster,		I
Storer, B.,		I
Thayer, G. A.,		2
Thomas, A. A.,	I	
Thompson, S.,		I
Towle Manufacturing Company,		I
Wilby, C. B., I misc.,	2	66

MEMBERS.

Adams, C. F.,		I
Anderson, Mrs. L. N.,		10
Baker, Mrs. C. W., 3 misc.,	21	5
Bliss, E. F.,	13	49
Chatfield, A. H.,	4	55
Cox, I. J.,		2
Green, S. A.,		4
Hamlin, L. B.,	3	8
James, D. L.,	I	92
Wilby, J., 2 newspapers,	I	2
Winslow, J. F., I newspaper,	I	

PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

On March 30th of this year Mrs. Mary M. Emery, in a letter addressed to the President and Board of Directors of this Society, made a generous offer which, had it received the necessary co-operation of the Park Committee of the City Council, would have solved our problem for a convenient, permanent home for our library and collections. Her offer was to remodel the Lytle House, in Lytle Park, at Fourth and Lawrence Streets, to put in a steel stack room for the accommodation of our books, and generally to make the house fire-proof and in every way suitable for the uses of the Society, provided the right could be obtained from the City to permanently maintain the Lytle House, in Lytle Park, for the use of our Society, according to the terms of her offer. For this purpose she proposed to expend \$25,000, and in addition thereto, to suitably place at the disposal of the Society another \$25,000, the income of which should be perpetually used for the expense of the janitor or custodian, fuel and general maintenance of the building. Mrs. Emery submitted with her letter elaborate details as to how the work of adapting the house for our uses was to be accomplished, showing that she had bestowed great care upon the subject in her endeavor to accomplish the object of her offer.

At a meeting of the Board held May 11th, 1907, Mrs. Emery's offer was read and accepted, with a vote of hearty thanks to Mrs. Emery for her generosity, and the President was authorized to sign all papers or agreements with the City of Cincinnati, or with Mrs. Emery, or with the Trustees of the Sinking Fund of Cincinnati, as might be necessary to carry out Mrs. Emery's plan, if satisfactory terms for permanent tenure could be had from the City. The President, and Mr. Greve and Mr. Livingood were made a Committee to attend to the details of dealing with the City and in all other matters necessary to carry out Mrs. Emery's plan.

Mrs. Emery, having been advised by the Secretary of the acceptance of her generous offer, our thanks for the same, and the assurance of our hope that we would succeed in securing the necessary assent of the City, addressed a formal letter to the Mayor and Council of Cincinnati, setting forth her interest in the value of the work and collections of our Society, commending the preservation of the Lytle House not only as a permanent home for our Society, but as an historical land-

mark, restating the terms of her offer as given above, together with a sketch or plan of how the alterations might be made in the Lytle House to adapt it to the purposes of our Society, and asking that her proposition might meet with the approval of the City.

Your President and Mr. Greve submitted this letter to His Honor, the Mayor, together with a draft of an ordinance which, if passed by Council, would have conferred the necessary permanence of tenure required by the terms of Mrs. Emery's offer, would have saved the City from any expense connected with the reconstruction and future maintenance of the house, and would have been a lawful exercise of power by the City Council under the act of the legislature passed prior to the grant by the City to the Art Museum of the right to maintain its buildings in Eden Park. There also accompanied this letter and draft of ordinance, a petition, signed by property owners in the neighborhood of the Lytle Park, asking the City Council to take such action as might enable the offer of Mrs. Emery to be carried out.

On the presentation of these papers to Mayor Dempsey, he heartily approved the plan and the right of the City to grant the required permanent tenure, and promised to send the ordinance to Council, recommending its passage. This the Mayor did.

The ordinance and the question of making possible Mrs. Emery's offer to give \$50,000 for the purpose of making the Lytle House a home for our Society, was referred to the Committee on Streets and Parks. That Committee reported adversely on June 24th, 1907, as appears by the proceedings of Council on Monday, July 1st, 1907.

The Lytle House is still standing, although the report of the Committee on Streets and Parks expressly recommended that it should be taken down promptly.

At the meeting of the Society on October 5th, 1907, the President made a report of the action of the Committee and the result of the effort of this Society to obtain the benefit of Mrs. Emery's kind offer. After some discussion, in which it was suggested that something might be accomplished by inviting a larger expression of public opinion upon the subject of Mrs. Emery's plan, it was the unanimous opinion that in view of existing conditions it would be inadvisable for the Society to take any further action at the present time.

Much of this, of course, is well known, and appeared with more or less detail in the newspapers during the summer; but it seemed well to give here this brief outline of this episode, so as to place upon our minutes a further record of Mrs. Emery's wise generosity, our gratitude to her, and our regret that for reasons over which we had

no control, her attempted gift to our Society and to the people of Cincinnati has so far failed.

During the past year the Committee in charge of the publication of our Quarterly has completed Volume I by the issue of Nos. 3 and 4, and have put out the first two numbers of Volume II. The issue for July-September, 1906, No. 3, of Volume I, shows the first installment of selections from the "Torrence Papers" in our manuscript collections, and was arranged and edited by Prof. Isaac Joslin Cox, of the University of Cincinnati. The last number for 1906 was made up of the annual report for the year ending December 3rd, 1906, and a reprint from the 29th Ohio Local Laws, of the act incorporating this Society, dated February 11th, 1831. The first number of the Quarterly for the current year consists of the second installment of selections from the "Torrence Papers," also edited by Prof. Cox. And the issue of April-June, 1907, is devoted to selections from what we know as the "Gallipolis Papers," arranged and edited by Theodore T. Belote, Colonial Dames' Fellow in Ohio Valley History at the University of Cincinnati.

Miss Jane C. Neave has, during the past year, added Two-Thousand Dollars (\$2,000) to the "Halsted Neave Fund," making in all \$4,000 due to her generosity in that fund alone.

Mention should be made of the death during the past year of Mrs. Mary McCormick Gibson. She had been a life member of this Society for seventeen years.

At the meeting of the Board on May 11th, 1907, on motion of Prof. Whitcomb, a Committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Whitcomb, Greve and the President, to co-operate with The Cincinnati History Teachers' Association, in preparing for the latter's meeting, to be held in this City in November; and at the subsequent meeting of the Board, the Librarian and Mr. Winslow were appointed a Committee to arrange an exhibit in the rooms of the Society of interesting matter in our collections, during the sessions of that Association.

The meeting of these history teachers became part of a programme of interesting events during the sessions on Friday and Saturday of last week, of The Central Ohio Valley History Conference. The Conference brought here noted representatives from many historical associations and local patriotic societies. The programme consisted of a local history conference in McMicken Hall, on the afternoon of Friday, November 29th, at which Mr. Greve, of our Society, presided, and where those in attendance were given the opportunity of hearing from many distinguished workers in the field of local history, includ-

ing Dr. Thwaites, of the Wisconsin Historical Society. On the evening of the same day there was a dinner at the Queen City Club, with an address by Mr. Foulke, of Richmond, Indiana. The next day the history teachers met and heard addresses from Professors James, Hulbert, Whitcomb, Mr. Dyer of the Cincinnati Public Schools, and other teachers of history from neighboring towns. On the afternoon of Saturday there was a reception by the patriotic societies. A printed programme of these events was sent to all members of our Society, so that further details need not be mentioned here.

The occasion, however, was a memorable one, and it and other meetings like it should prove useful in spreading knowledge of the work that such associations as ours are doing for the preservation and publication of original sources of local history.

While the success of this occasion was due to the efforts of many associated on the various committees representing the different organizations, the President takes pleasure in referring to the zeal and efficient work of Mr. Greve and Professors Whitcomb and Cox, of our own Society, in making the occasion a success, and in giving to those who attended the conference from out of town, opportunity to know the value and extent of our library and collections. There were represented at the conference several historical societies receiving state aid. Our Society receives none. We may be said to be going through the accumulating stage. That is to say, we are collecting and preserving material, and are letting our funds increase, until we may be sufficiently endowed to permit our entering upon lines of activity in the way of publication and otherwise, which we have not heretofore undertaken. Our present Quarterly publication, and such meetings as that of last week, will surely serve a useful purpose in making our Society better known and in getting into touch with our neighbors.

The necessity of our removal down town becomes more apparent every year, and deserves, therefore, mention in this report. The place which Mrs. Emery tried to provide for us was not only convenient and accessible, but in every way desirable and suited to the wants of our Society. It had the open park around it insuring good light and immunity from fire. We are one year nearer the end of our agreed sojourn in the Van Wormer Library Building. It behooves all of us who have in mind increased usefulness for this Society, to consider, with greater concern, ways and means for returning down town.

JOSEPH WILBY, *President*.

DEC. 2, 1907.

REPORT OF TREASURER

DECEMBER 2, 1907.

For the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

I have the honor to present the annual report of the Assets and Liabilities of THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO for the year ending November 30, 1907.

A. H. CHATFIELD, *Treasurer.*

("Schedule A")
STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES
 At November 30th, 1907.

ASSETS.

Cash in Bank,	\$1,094 87	
Cash in hands of Librarian,	20 66	
Unbanked check for Dues,	10 00	
		<hr/>
		\$1,125 53
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. (Interest on Deposits), .		7 20
Investments and Savings Deposits:—		
Investments,	\$21,771 68	
Savings Deposits (Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co.),	87 74	
		<hr/>
		21,859 42
Fee of Property, No. 107 West Eighth Street,		29,000 00
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund, Income Account (Debit Balance),		2 25
		<hr/>
<i>Total</i> ,		<u>\$51,994 40</u>

LIABILITIES.

General Fund,	Investment Account,	\$716 25
Building Fund,	Principal "	16,987 89
Endowment Fund,	Principal "	12,320 00
Life Membership Fund,	Investment "	5,037 13
Julius Dexter Publication Fund,	Investment "	850 00
" " " "	Income "	162 18
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund,	Investment "	4,045 90
Halsted Neave,	Principal "	245 00
" "	Investment "	3,755 00
" "	Income "	85 03
Margaret Rives King Fund,	Investment "	6,545 00
" " " "	Income "	262 51
Colonial Dames Fund,	Investment "	200 00
" " "	Income "	2 73
Binding Fund,	Investment "	710 14
" "	Income "	69 64
		<hr/>
<i>Total</i> ,		<u>\$51,994 40</u>

(Schedule "B")

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
For year ended November 30th, 1907.

ASSETS.

Dec. 1, 1906, Balance in Bank,	\$1,363 44	
Hands of Librarian,	14 19	
		<u>\$1,377 63</u>

RECEIPTS.

Membership Dues, 1906,	\$20 00	
" " 1907,	600 00	
		<u>\$620 00</u>

INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:

General Fund,	\$30 00	
Life Membership Fund,	274 50	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund,	36 00	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund,	193 50	
Margaret Rives King Fund,	264 00	
Colonial Dames Fund,	12 00	
Binding Fund,	30 00	
Halsted Neave Fund,	150 00	
		<u>990 00</u>
Life Membership, Miss Laws,		100 00
Rent to October 1, 1907, 107 West Eighth St., M. M. Robertson,		800 00
Halsted Neave Account,		<u>2,000 00</u>

Total Receipts,	4,510 00
To be accounted for,	<u><u>\$5,887 63</u></u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

Books Purchased—General Fund,	\$213 61	
General Expenses,	89 73	
Stationery,	4 50	
Printing,	35 00	
Card Catalogue Expense,	57 77	
Postage,	27 41	
Insurance,	16 50	
Salaries—Librarian and Janitor,	1,050 00	
Investment made from Halsted Neave Fund,	2,755 00	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund—Purchases and Expenses,	193 78	
Margaret Rives King Fund—Purchases and Expenses,	226 48	
Colonial Dames Fund—Purchases and Expenses,	29 32	
Halsted Neave Fund—Interest on Bonds Pur- chased,	63 00	
		<u>\$4,762 10</u>
Total Disbursements,		\$4,762 10
Cash in Bank, November 30, 1907,	\$1,094 87	
Cash in Hands of Librarian, November 30, 1907,	20 66	
Unbanked Check for Dues,	10 00	
		<u>1,125 53</u>

Total Accounted for,	<u><u>\$5,887 63</u></u>
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(Exhibit "1")

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS AND SAVINGS DEPOSITS

At November 30th, 1907.

GENERAL FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$716 25
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LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:

83 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$4,425 75
Part interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Ry. Co., 4½%	
Bonds (cost),	314 38
4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), .	289 00
	<hr/>
	\$5,029 13
Savings Deposit—3% Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co.,	8 00
	<hr/>
	5,037 13

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:

12 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$834 00
Savings Deposit—3% Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co.,	16 00
	<hr/>
	850 00

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

3 Bonds C. H. & D. Ry. Co. 4½% (cost),	\$2,882 50
13 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	677 50
2 " " " " " " "	144 50
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Ry. Co. 4½%	
Bonds (cost),	314 37
	<hr/>
	\$4,018 87
Savings Deposit—3% Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co.,	27 03
	<hr/>
	4,045 90

HALSTED NEAVE FUND:

C. L. & N. Ry. Bond, 4%,	\$1,000 00
Kineon Coal Co. Bond, 5%,	1,000 00
2 Norfolk & Western Ry. Co. Bonds, 4%, (cost), .	1,755 00
	<hr/>
	3,755 00

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:

4 Bonds C. H. & D. Ry. Co., 4½% (cost),	\$4,512 50
7 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	481 25
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Ry. Co. 4½% Bonds,	1,551 25
	<hr/>
	6,545 00

COLONIAL DAMES FUND:

4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	200 00
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BINDING FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$680 63
Savings Deposit—3% Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co.,	29 51
	<hr/>
	710 14

Total,	<hr/> <hr/>
	\$21,859 42

(Exhibit "2")
GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Dues, 1906,	\$20 00	
" 1907,	610 00	
	<hr/>	\$630 00
Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividends,		30 00
Transfer from Life Membership Income Account, . . .		374 77
Transfer from Endowment Fund Account of Interest on Endowment Fund Loan to Building Fund, . . .		615 00
		<hr/> \$1,649 77

DISBURSEMENTS AND TRANSFERS:

Books Purchased,	\$248 61	
General Expenses,	89 73	
Stationery,	4 50	
Card Catalogue Expense,	57 77	
Postage,	27 41	
Insurance,	16 50	
Salaries—Librarian and Janitor,	1,050 00	
Dues—Librarian,	10 00	
	<hr/>	1,504 52
Excess over Disbursements,		145 25
		<hr/> <hr/>
November 30, 1907—Balance transferred to Building Fund— Income Account,		\$145 25
		<hr/> <hr/>

(Exhibit "2")
INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

November 30, 1907—Balance invested, as per balance sheet,	\$716 25
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(Exhibit "3")
BUILDING FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Rent to October 1, 1907—M. M. Robertson, . . .	\$800 00	
Deficiency for year 1907 transferred to Principal Acc't,	712 11	
Balance transferred from General Fund,	145 25	
	<u> </u>	\$1,657 36
Deficiency to December 1, 1906,	\$1,042 36	
Interest to Endowment Fund,	615 00	
	<u> </u>	\$1,657 36

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Fee of 107 West Eighth Street,	\$29,000 00	
Premium paid by M. M. Robertson for lease, . . .	1,000 00	
	<u> </u>	\$30,000 00

DEDUCT:

Loan from Endowment Fund,	\$12,300 00	
Deficiency transferred from Income Account, . . .	712 11	
	<u> </u>	13,012 11
November 30, 1907—Credit Balance, as per Balance Sheet,		<u>\$16,987 89</u>

(Exhibit "3")
ENDOWMENT FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS:

Interest 5% on \$9,300 Loan to Building Fund, . .	\$465 00	
" 5% on 3,000 " " "	150 00	
	<u> </u>	\$615 00

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transfer to General Fund,	<u>\$615 00</u>
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PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Credit Balance,	<u>\$12,300 00</u>
November 30, 1907—Credit Balance, as per Balance Sheet	<u>\$12,300 00</u>
(No change during year.)	

(Exhibit "4")
LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS :

Life Memberships,	\$100 00
Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividends,	261 00
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	13 50
Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co. Interest on Deposit,	27
	<u>\$374 77</u>

DISBURSEMENTS AND TRANSFERS :

Balance transferred to General Fund,	<u>\$374 77</u>
--	-----------------

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Balance Invested,	<u>\$5,037 13</u>
No change during year.	
November 30, 1907—Balance, as per Balance Sheet,	<u>\$5,037 13</u>

(Exhibit "4")
JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Credit Balance,	\$125 64
--	----------

RECEIPTS :

Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividends,	\$36 00,
Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Interest	
on Deposits,	54
	<u>36 54</u>

November 30, 1907—Credit Balance, as per Balance Sheet,	<u>\$162 18</u>
---	-----------------

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Balance Invested,	<u>\$850 00</u>
(No change during year.)	
November 30, 1907—Balance, as per Balance Sheet,	<u>\$850 00</u>

(Exhibit "5")

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS :

Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividends,	\$45 00
C. H. & D. Ry. Co., Bond Interest,	135 00
C. & O. Ry. Co., " "	13 50
Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Interest on Deposit,	82
	<hr/>
	\$194 32

DISBURSEMENTS :

Books Purchased,	193 78	
	<hr/>	
Excess Receipts,	54	
December 1, 1906—Debit Balance,	2 79	
November 30, 1907—Debit Balance, as per Balance Sheet,	<hr/>	\$2 25

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Balance Invested,	\$4,045 90
(No change during year.)	
November 30, 1907—Balance Invested, per Balance Sheet,	<hr/> <hr/>

(Exhibit "5")

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Credit Balance,	\$224 99
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RECEIPTS :

Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividends,	\$21 00
C. H. & D. Ry. Co., Bond Interest,	180 00
C. & O. Ry. Co., " "	63 00
	<hr/>
	264 00
	<hr/>
	\$488 99

DISBURSEMENTS :

Books Purchased,	226 48	
	<hr/>	
November 30, 1907—Credit Balance, per Balance Sheet,		\$262 51

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Balance Invested,	\$6,545 00
(No change during year.)	
November 30, 1907—Balance Invested, as per Balance Sheet,	<hr/> <hr/>

(Exhibit "6")
HALSTED NEAVE FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS :

C. L. & N. Ry. Co., Bond Interest,	\$60 00
N. & W. Ry. Co., " "	40 00
Kineon Coal Co., " "	50 00
	<hr/>
	\$150 00

DISBURSEMENTS :

Accrued Interest on Kineon Coal Co. Bond, \$24 11	
" " N. & W. Ry. Co. " 38 89	
	<hr/>
	\$63 00
Excess Receipts,	\$87 00
December 1, 1906—Debit Balance,	1 97
November 30, 1907—Credit Balance, per Balance Sheet, <hr/>	\$85 03

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Balance Invested,	\$1,000 00
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INVESTED DURING THE YEAR :

One Bond, Kineon Coal Co.,	\$1,000
Two Bonds, Norfolk & Western Ry. Co.,	
\$1,000 each, bought at	1,755
	<hr/>
	2,755 00
November 30, 1907—Balance Invested, as per Balance	
Sheet, <hr/>	\$3,755 00

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Credit Balance,	\$1,000 00
--	------------

RECEIPTS :

January 18, 1907,	\$1,000
June 10, 1907,	1,000
	<hr/>
	2,000 00
	<hr/>
	\$3,000 00

DISBURSEMENTS FOR INVESTMENT :

March 26.—Kineon Coal Co. Bond,	\$1,000
June 22.—N. & W. Ry. Co. Bonds,	1,755
	<hr/>
	2,755 00
November 30, 1907—Credit Balance, as per Balance Sheet, <hr/>	\$245 00

(Exhibit "7")
COLONIAL DAMES FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Credit Balance,	\$20 05
RECEIPTS :	
Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividend,	12 00
	<u>\$32 05</u>
DISBURSEMENTS :	
Books Purchased,	29 32
November 30, 1907—Credit Balance, per Balance Sheet,	<u>\$2 73</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

December 1, 1906—Balance Invested,	\$200 00
(No change during year.)	
November 30, 1907—Balance Invested, per Balance Sheet,	<u>\$200 00</u>

(Exhibit "7")
BINDING FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Credit Balance,	\$38 72
RECEIPTS :	
Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividend, . . . \$30 00	
Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Interest on	
Deposit,	92
	<u>30 92</u>
November 30, 1907—Credit Balance, per Balance Sheet,	<u>\$69 64</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

December 1, 1906—Balance Invested,	\$710 14
(No change during year.)	
November 30, 1907—Balance Invested, per Balance Sheet,	<u>\$710 14</u>

REPORT OF AUDITOR

CINCINNATI, NOVEMBER 29, 1907.

To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, at Cincinnati.

In accordance with instructions, examination has been made of the books of account of THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO for the year ended November 30, 1907. We submit as part of this report the following Schedules:—

SCHEDULE "A"—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at November 30, 1907.

SCHEDULE "B"—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for year ended November 30, 1907.

These Schedules are supported by Exhibits showing in detail the principal items contained therein.

Receipts and Disbursements have been examined and found correct and the Cash Balance as shown by the books at closing, November 30, 1907, agrees with the balance on deposit in bank.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been duly examined and found in accordance with said account.

The Statement of Assets and Liabilities as shown, in our opinion, represents the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30, 1907.

Respectfully submitted,

GUY H. KENNEDY,
Public Accountant and Auditor.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Anderson, Davis C.	Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.
Anderson, William H.	Ingalls, M. E.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	James, Davis L.
Ault, L. A.	Kittredge, Edmund W.
Baker, Mrs. Charles W.	Leaman, Mrs. Robert F.
Baker, Miss Phebe S.	Levy, Harry M.
Balke, Rudolph F.	Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Battelle, John G.	Ludlow, William S.
Brunswick, B. H.	McDonald, Alexander
Caldwell, Charles E.	Miller, Griffin T.
Callahan, John R.	Pendleton, Elliott H.
Carew, Joseph T.	Procter, William Cooper
Cist, Charles M.	Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Compton, William C.	Pyle, E. C.
Cowen, Benjamin R.	Ransohoff, Joseph
Dabney, Charles W.	Schmidlapp, J. G.
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.	Shillito, Stewart
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman	Storer, Bellamy
DeCamp, Walter A.	Strobridge, Nelson W.
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.	Sykes, Gerrit S.
Foley, B. W.	Taft, Charles W.
Foster, Miss Anna H.	Taylor, William W.
Foster, Wm. Lytle	Voorheis, Albert W.
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick	Whitcomb, Merrick
Freiberg, Maurice J.	Wiborg, Frank B.
Gano, Mrs. John A.	Wiborg, Mrs. Frank B.
Goepper, Edward	Wilson, Obed J.
Greve, Charles Theodore	Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle	Winslow, Howard S.
Harrison, W. H.	Winslow, John F.
Hollister, Howard C.	Worthington, Edward
Holmes, D. H. J.	Worthington, William
Holmes, John R.	Wulsin, Lucien.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.	Jones, Mrs. Frank J.
Bliss, Eugene F.	Laws, Miss Annie
Bullock, James W.	Livingood, Charles J.
Chatfield, Albert H.	Neave, Miss Alice
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.	Neave, Miss Jane Caldwell
Davis, Nathaniel Henchman	Procter, Harley T.
Davis, William Henry	Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Fleischmann, Julius	Thomson, Peter G.
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.	Vail, Henry H.
Gest, Erasmus	Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Hurd, E. O.	Wilby, Joseph
Jones, Frank J.	Woods, Harry F.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Adams, Charles Francis	Hayes, E. G.
Cox, Isaac J.	Heath, William McK.
Duro, Cesario	Hoyt, Albert H.
Foulke, William Dudley	Thwaites, Reuben Gold
Galbreath, Charles W.	Tyson, Philip T.
Green, Samuel A.	Warder, Reuben H.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Durrett, Reuben T.	Venable, William H.
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Two members died during the year :

Mrs. Mary McCormick Gibson, life member.
Mr. Charles H. Duhme, corporate member.

Quarterly Publication of the His-
torical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio

Vol. III, 1908, No. 1
JANUARY—MARCH

Notices Concerning Cincinnati

BY
DANIEL DRAKE

PART I.

*A Page-for-page Reprint of the First Twenty-eight Pages
of the Original Issue of 1810.*

PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM
CINCINNATI, OHIO

Entered as second-class matter June 12, 1906, at the post-office at Cincinnati,
Ohio, under the Act of Congress of July 16, 1894.

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF PUBLICATION

CHARLES T. GREVE.

MERRICK WHITCOMB.

FOREWORD

Dr. Daniel Drake's NOTICES CONCERNING CINCINNATI was printed for private distribution among the author's friends, consequently it is regarded as "without a doubt the rarest book relating to Cincinnati." This fact alone would justify this reprint, but the book possesses an additional value as a bit of tangible evidence of creditable scientific attainment in the Ohio Valley a century ago.

The author of this sketch is too well known in the early history of this section to need an extended notice here. The work itself appeared in two installments, both published during 1810. The first comprising the three divisions herein reprinted, and also the APPENDIX, appeared about May of that year. The second installment appeared about August, and comprises divisions IV and V, which with the APPENDIX will be printed in the next issue of the QUARTERLY. Notices of the book may be found in Thompson: *A Bibliography of Ohio*, p. 100, and in the SOCIETY'S publication: *A Partial List of the Books in its Library relating to the State of Ohio*, p. 30.

The Historical and Philosophical Society is fortunate in possessing two complete copies of the work and an additional copy of the first installment and the APPENDIX. One of the complete copies has the following note by Mr. Julius Dexter, written on its fly leaf: "The 'Notices' appeared in two parts. Part I contained pages 1-28 and the four pages of the Appendix. Part II contained pages 29-60 and was not printed until several months after Part I had appeared (see note in Daniel Drake's handwriting at end of volume). This copy is made up from Part I, given by E. J. Carson, and Part II, given by A. H. McGuffey. Part II had been Drake's own copy. —J. D." The note in Dr. Drake's handwriting, mentioned above,

is as follows: "The Printing of the Sect. of Memoranda respecting our diseases is postponed for a few months." This is followed by an illegible scrawl in another handwriting. The second complete copy belongs to the THOMPSON COLLECTION of the Society's library. Both of these copies are bound. The incomplete copy is an unbound pamphlet, with the signature "Gen'l J. S. Gano, Covington, Ky., on the outside cover, and "From Mrs. Laura V. Gano, Sept. 1, 1900," on the inside cover. At the end it has a similar note in Dr. Drake's handwriting.

We have attempted an exact reprint of the 1810 edition, with the exception of two typographical differences. The old-fashioned "s" has been changed and the diphthong "æ" separated, and the compass headings of the columns in the first table on page 20 have been arranged vertically, rather than horizontally. Otherwise the reprint is exact, including errors. It speaks well for the printing of that day and section that there are so few of these. Miss Hamlin has given valuable assistance in reading the proof.

I. J. C.

NOTICES
CONCERNING
CINCINNATI.

BY DANIEL DRAKE.

CINCINNATI:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
AT THE PRESS OF JOHN W. BROWNE & CO.

1810.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

Such a *Calendarium Flora* as would exhibit the progress of vegetation at this place, and answer for insertion in the *Medical and Physical Journal*, or some other Magazine, and nothing more, was at first intended. But the physical sciences are so intimately connected, that the narrow limits then prescribed, have been overstepped, and the addition of notices respecting our soil, climate and diseases, now renders the floral calendar the most inconsiderable part.

Even, however, in its extended form, no great degree of importance is attached to this humble prodromus; and the original design, of sending it to the editor of that Journal, would still be adhered to, did not the writer wish to distribute several copies of it among medical and other friends, as an acknowledgment for similar information communicated to him. To them he addresses it without hesitation, and only requests that they make a careful distinction, between what is given as fact, and what as hypothesis, or deduction: The latter *may* be correct, the former can scarcely be incorrect.

It only remains to observe, that the *manner* in which it is executed may probably be considered too elaborate and methodical for such an immature production; but in addi-

tion to the existance of insuperable obstacles to the attainment of an easy and elegant style, the writer labored to be concise, and conciseness requires method.

Cincinnati, Ohio, May 1, 1810.

NOTICES CONCERNING CINCINNATI.

I. *Topography.*

CINCINNATI, situate on the northern bank of the river Ohio, in a bend of gentle curvature, is in 39 deg. 7 min. N. Lat. and about 84 deg. 30 min. W. Longitude.

Its site is not equally elevated. A slip of land, called the BOTTOM (most of which is inundated by extraordinary freshes, though the whole is elevated several feet above the ordinary high water mark) commences at Deer-creek, the eastern boundry of the town, and stretches down the river, gradually becoming wider and lower. It slopes northwardly to the average distance of 800 feet, where it is terminated by a bank or glaxis, denominated the HILL, which is generally of steep ascent, and from 30 to 50 feet in height. In addition to this, there is a gentle activity for 6 or 700 feet farther back, which is succeeded by a slight inclination of surface, northwardly, for something more than half a mile, when the hills, or real uplands commence. These benches of land extend northwestwardly, (the upper one continually widening) nearly two miles, and are lost in the interval grounds of Mill-creek. The whole, form an area of between 2 and 3 square miles; which however comprehends but little more than a moiety of the expansion which the valley of the Ohio has at this place. For on the southern side, both above and below the mouth of Licking river, are extensive elevated bottoms.

The hills surrounding this alluvial tract, form an imperfectly rhomboidal figure. They are between 2 and 300 feet high, but the angle, under which they are seen from a central situation, is only of a few degrees. Those to the S. W. and N. E. at such a station, make the greatest, and nearly an equal angle; those to the S. E. and N. W. also make angles nearly equal. The Ohio enters at the eastern angle

of this figure, and after bending considerably to the south, passes out at the western; Licking enters through the southern, and Mill-creek through the northern angle.—Deer-creek, an inconsiderable stream, enters through the northern side. The Ohio, both up and down, affords a limited view, and its valley forms no considerable inlet to the E. and W. winds. The valley of Licking affords an entrance to the S. wind, that of Mill-creek to the N. W. and that of Deer-creek, (a partial one) to the N. E. The other winds blow over the hills that lie in their respective courses.

The Ohio is 535 yards wide from bank to bank, but at low water much narrower: no extensive bars exist, however, near the town. Licking river, which joins the Ohio at right angles, opposite the town, is about 80 yards wide at its mouth. Mill-creek is large enough for mills, and has wide alluvions; which, near its junction with the Ohio, are annually overflowed. Its general course is from N. E. to S. W. and it joins the Ohio at a right angle.

Ascending from these valleys, the aspects and character of the surrounding country are various. On the southern, or Kentucky side of the Ohio, the land is hilly, and the interval grounds narrow; on this side the land is more level, and the interval spaces wider. These spaces are covered with large sycamores (*platanus occidentalis*) hackberries (*celtis occidentalis*) poplars (*liriodendron tulipifera*) the beech (*fagus Americanus*) the buckeyes (*esculus*) hickories and walnuts (*juglans*) honeylocusts (*gleditsia triacanthos*) 2 or 3 oaks (*quercus*) paupow (*annona glabra*) grape-vines (*vitis ferotina*) 2 species of ash (*fraxinus*) sugar trees (*acer saccharinum*) black locust (*robinia pseudacacia*) and most of the other 40 or 50 trees and shrubs, which compose the *Arbustum Terrae Fertilis* of the western country. While the shores of the creeks and rivers are embellished by willows (*salix*) cotton trees, (*populus deltoid*) and red maple, (*acer rubrum*.)

The uplands produce either the trees already mentioned, or the numerous species and varieties of oak, or beech, or the whole blended together, according to their differences in fertility and moisture.

No barrens, prairies, or pine lands are to be found near the town.

II. *Geology.*

The internal structure, of the site of our town, demonstrates, that it is wholly "made ground," and that water has been the immediate agent. On the upper division, or Hill, the soil near the eastern and western extremities is better, but in the middle it is extremely thin, exhibiting every where the loam over which it is spread. This loam, which constitutes the second stratum, is from 4 to 8 feet in depth. It presents but few varieties, affording besides the sand and brick clay which compose it, nothing more than occasional siliceous pebbles, and fragments of argillaceous grit. This layer is supported by a grand stratum, composed of pebbles, gravel and sand. It is of unknown thickness, wells having been dug to the depth of 80, 90 and 100 feet, without passing through it. The particulars which have been observed respecting its construction are the following:—1. The sand; gravel and pebbles are commonly blended together; but, in some places the sand exists in beds distinctly from the others. These beds are found at considerable depth, and generally exhibit in the position of their particles, a kind of oblique or wave-like stratification; while that of the superincumbent gravel is more horizontal.—2. A large portion of the pebbles of this stratum are opaque calcareous carbonate; the rest are semi-transparent, white, blue, brown, and red amorphous quartz; flint; and several varieties of granite, some of which are undergoing decomposition. The calcareous fragments are discoid, the siliceous approach more or less to the globular figure. They are all water-worn, and resemble those found on the beaches of our rivers.—3. In some places these pebbles are cemented by carbonate of lime into breccia. It is somewhat tabular, and horizontally disposed.—4. No fluvial shells, nor exuviae of any kind have been found in this stratum, except a solitary vertebra of the mammoth, which lately was discovered about 20 feet below the surface. It had no doubt been deposited there at the same time with the gravel among which it was found.—5. Veins of loam highly colored, and of fine blue clay, have been occasionally found, more especially along its southern border.—6. In the well of capt. Prince at the depth of 36 feet, that of judge

Symmes at 20 feet, and of Jacob Burnet, Esq., at 90 feet, fragments of vegetable matter have been found. In that of the latter gentleman were dug up the stumps or foundations of two trees, one of considerable size, the other smaller. They were represented by the workmen as having grown there, but from the very depressed situation they occupied, and from their resting on sand, it is more probable they were *deposited* there, indicating that to have been once the bottom of a lake or pond, rather than the surface of the dry ground. And this opinion coincides with Mr. Volney's supposition of an ancient lake in this country.—8. The wells of maj. Ruffin, judge Symmes and gen. Lytle, all in a line from the river, have formerly afforded water, considerably impregnated with iron, and probably also with sulphur; both of which might have been supplied by the decomposition of fossil wood.—And where this line intersects the river, the sand and gravel of the beach are cemented into a kind of ferruginous breccia, by oxide of iron.

Such, as far as it has been explored, is the structure of the higher alluvion: that of the lower, or Bottom, differs from it in some respects. The layer of mould is several feet thick, and gradually changes into clay, which terminates about 20 feet from the surface. After this, sand and gravel present themselves, and continue to the calcareous and schistous strata, which underlay the town and adjoining uplands.

Of the geology of the surrounding country but a partial account will be attempted. Its alluvial portions like those already described, consist of mould, loam, clay, sand and gravel, to the depth of several feet. The superior strata of the uplands are mould, from 6 to 24 inches deep, and loam, with loose horizontal limestones and fragments of argillaceous sandstone, to the depth of from 6 to 12 feet. These strata, on this side of the river, are supported by argillaceous schistus (the *argilla fissilis* of Turton's Linnaeus) alternately and horizontally disposed with calcareous rocks; which construction continues as low as we have yet penetrated. The former substance, in quantity, greatly exceeds the latter, and really gives to this part of our state a *schistous* character. It has a dull blue color, breaks into thick irregular discoid fragments, softens and is diffusible in water, from which it is probably, in certain situations, deposited, forming beds of potter's clay (*argilla lithomarga*;) it adheres to the tongue, can be scratched with the nail, effervesces with acids,

feebly before, but briskly after pulverization, and has 2.55 specific gravity. It contains neither sulphur nor bitumen. The limestone in this region is from 1 to 18 inches thick; is found in oblong or irregular indeterminate angular pieces, of various sizes; has a coarse grain, and is of different densities, with the medium specific gravity of 2.65. The lime obtained from it is said to possess great strength, but adheres slightly, and is not very white, no doubt from the abundance of iron it contains.

An observer, upon examining this calcareo-schistous region is ready to pronounce, that the limestone is nothing but indurated slate; for the change of density and texture, from one to the other, is, in many places, so gradual as to be perfectly imperceptible. This, however, can only be determined by chemical analysis.

Several varieties of marine exuviae, which I am not now prepared to enumerate, are found imbedded in, or impressed on the surface, of these calcareous stones. The slate also, is not without appearances of this kind, though they are not so numerous nor so large.

Along the beach of the Ohio, smooth lumps of sandstone, of different degrees of hardness, and of various colors and sizes, are by no means uncommon. In the lower bank of Licking River, just at its junction with the Ohio, but more especially in some of the river hills, about 15 miles above this town, are huge shapeless masses of breccia or pudding stone. It consists of rolled, calcareous and siliceous pebbles, cemented by carbonate of lime. It is found in hills which appear to have had a secondary formation, and constitutes their nuclei. As we advance into Kentucky, the proportion of argillaceous matter decreases rapidly, until at length dense, thick, almost interminable, calcareous rocks, separated but slightly, form the solid foundation of that state. It has been asserted, that the prevalence of schistous matter ceases at the Ohio river; this may be the case in some places, but it certainly is not everywhere.

Granitical pebbles have been already mentioned, as frequently occurring in the alluvion on which our town is built; but *they* are not *all* the granite this country affords. About fifteen miles north of this place, is a zone or region of larger masses of that compound. It runs from east to west. These masses, some of which are several feet in diameter, are of a reddish color, amorphous, smooth and perpendicu-

larly stratified. It is believed, that similar fragments are bestrewn over most of our state.

The country, between this and lake Erie, is probably erected on a frail calcareo-argillaceous foundation: but little, however, is accurately known concerning any portion of its natural history.

From even this cursory topographical and geological view, we perceive the reason why this state abounds, considerably, in interval lands, and durable springs; while in Kentucky, the springs, though numerous during the rainy season, are transient, and the interval spaces narrow. In that state, the hills are generally steep enough to convey most of the rains rapidly away; and what water does filter through the soil and clay is arrested by the broad impermeable rocks, and conducted to the banks of the numerous creeks, where it bursts out in temporary springs. The surface of this state, in most parts, is so level as to retain a large portion of the water which falls, while the frailer structure of the ground readily permits it to sink below the region of evaporation, where it collects and forms permanent springs. In Kentucky, the rivers and small streams can effect but little, in a lateral direction, against the dense calcareous rocks, which every where abound beneath the surface, and therefore are restricted to narrow limits. In this state, the rivers and creeks are constantly undermining and wearing away their resistless and crumbling banks, and thereby widen their valleys.

About one mile up Licking river, are several copious chalybeate springs, which however are covered with water, except when the river is low. To the east of the town, from under the hill beyond Deer-creek, there bursts out a feeble vein of water, considerably impregnated with sulphate and muriate of soda. But few springs exist about the town. Wells are more common, tho' not very numerous: most of them terminate in sand and gravel. The water they afford is hard, incrusting the vessels in which it is boiled. It contains uncombined carbonic acid, carbonates, muriates, probably nitrates, but no sulphates.

That of the river is softer: In November last, when it was partially examined with chemical tests, it appeared to contain muriate of soda and uncombined soda. At other seasons of the year it no doubt contains other principles.

III. *Climate.*

If a history of the climate of North America, in these middle latitudes, were to be attempted, it might be found both useful and natural, to distribute it into four great divisions:—

1. The states lying east of the Alleghenies—2. The countries lying west of the Chippewan, or Stoney mountains—3. The mountains themselves—4. The broad shallow valley, or vast platform comprehended between them; which is drained by the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri, with their thousand tributary streams.

Each of these great regions, probably, has a climate somewhat peculiar. That of the first is pretty well known; that of the second has been ascertained to differ from the others; that of the third, from its elevation, no doubt possesses many peculiarities, but our knowledge of them is very limited; that of the fourth is better known, but the aggregate of the *truths*, published respecting it, is by no means equal to a full display of its character. This we may regret, but it cannot surprise us, for accurate, long continued cotemporary observations, at different places, must be made, before the climate of any country can be correctly estimated.

The most important results, of those recently made at this point in the great inter-montane region, will now be stated. For the purpose of comparison, they are placed in connection with certain Atlantic observations, the most proper that could be procured. They are not, however, so perfectly comparable as could be wished, but may answer the end of general, though not of critical, information.

1. TEMPERATURE.

The mean annual heat of this town, during 4 years, was as follows:—

In 1806, deg. 54.1—1807, 54.4—1808, 56.4*—1809, 54.4.

The average of these, 54.8 deg. may be received, without much hesitation, as the standard temperature of this place: for our deep wells, and copious perennial springs, are constantly about 54 degrees. The mean annual heat of Philadelphia, 50 min. north of this town, from 6 years observation by Dr. Coxe,† was 54.16 deg. that of Springmill, on the Schuylkill, 57 min. north of this, from 2 years observations by Mr. Legeaux,‡ was 55 7 deg. The mean summer heat, for 4 years at this place, was 75 deg. for 6 years at Philadelphia, 75 5 deg. and for three years at Springmill, 73.8 deg. In 1800, the summer heat in Philadelphia, was 75 deg. at Gnadenhutten,§ in this state, about 25 min. farther north, it was 72 deg. The afternoon summer heat of this place, in 1805, was 79.7 deg. and in 1808, (a very hot year) 83.4 deg. that of Springmill in the former year, was 89.3. During that summer, at Springmill, the thermometer was 61 times at or above 90 deg. while at this place, during the summer of 1808, it was at or above 90 deg. only 32 times; and for 5 years past, it has been at that point, only 71 times. In the course of the same period, it has been below cypher 10 times at this place; while from 1798 to 1803, at Philadelphia, it was never as low as cypher.|| And during the most intense degree of cold experienced in that city, for 20 years previous to 1805, the thermometer was only 5 deg. below cypher; ** 6 deg. higher (as will appear presently)

* These three are the results of observations by Jared Mansfield, Esq. Surveyor-general of the United States, which he has kindly permitted me to use. The last year's observations were by myself. Our thermometers (which correspond) were always hung in the shade and in contact with wood. His station was 4 miles north of this place, but in circumstances of local situation and elevation (about 50 feet above the high water mark of the Ohio) nearly the same with mine. Most of the morning observations made by him, however, were at too late a period to indicate the lowest temperature of the 24 hours; but mine were made at or before sunrise, which furnished proper data for correcting his. And if the difference between morning and afternoon heat be the same in different years, the results expressed above may certainly be depended on.

† See Medical Museum.

‡ Rush's Inq. & Obs. and Barton's Med. Phy. Journal.

§ Barton's Journal.

|| Med. Museum.

** Rush's Inq. & Obs.

than was felt here in 1807, and 2 deg. higher than our last winter afforded, for two successive mornings.

The comparative mean heat of each month and season in 1809, at this place, and 1802 at Philadelphia, (two years which had the same mean temperature) may be seen from the following table:

Cincinnati. Philadelphia.			Cincinnati. Philadelphia		
January, deg.	25.1	deg. 40.8	July deg.	73.4	deg. 74.7
February	34.2	34.5	August	73.3	74.5
March	44.0	42.3	September	67.8	67.2
April	57.9	52.9	October	63.3	59.9
May	61.4	59.1	November	44.3	45.6
June	72.7	71.1	December	35.9	33.3
Cincin. Philad.			Cincin. Philad.		
Winter	81.73	36.66	Summer	73.13	73.66
Spring	54.42	51.33	Autumn	51.43	54.23

The monthly thermometrical ranges at Cincinnati, in 1809, Philadelphia in 1802, and Springmill in 1805, are exhibited in the following table:

Cincinnati		Philadelphia		Springmill.	
O				O	
January from deg.	2 to 47	from	24 to 57	from	2.9 to 63.5
February	13 60		10 50		3.9 65.7
March	16 78		24 66		20.1 84.9
April	27 88		38 70		37.6 92.7
May	38 86		48 71		35.4 88.7
June	48 94		58 86		44.4 95.0
July	56 93		63 88		55.6 100.2
August	54 89		60 88		56.7 100.6
September	43 87		48 84		42.6 98.4
October	33 85		42 76		29.7 88.2
November	5 72		32 57		27.5 74.7
December	11 62		12 64		22.3 66.4

The comparative mean difference, between the morning and afternoon temperatures, for the months, seasons and year, at Cincinnati and Springmill, may be seen from the following table:—

Cincin. 1809.		Springm. 1805.		Cincin. 1809.		Springm. 1805.	
January deg.	10.8	deg.	16.4	July deg.	15.3	deg.	23.0
February	11.6		20.5	August	15.0		21.7
March	18.0		23.8	September	21.5		21.1
April	20.6		23.0	October	18.6		19.6
May	24.6		25.4	November	16.0		16.2
June	16.0		22.7	December	11.0		11.1
Winter	11.1		16.0	Summer	15.4		22.5
Spring	20.8		24.0	Autumn	18.7		19.0
				Annual mean difference,		16.5	
						20.4	

The greatest diurnal variations from cold to heat, and from heat to cold, in each month in 1809, at Cincinnati, and of 1805 at Springmill, will appear from the following table:

<i>Cincinnati.</i>		<i>Springmill.</i>	
From cold to heat.	Heat to cold.	Cold to heat.	Heat to cold.
January deg. 30	deg. 32	deg. 40	deg. 22
February 31	22	45	29
March 37	36	45	36
April 42	32	40	47
May 36	40	37	37
June 30	25	38	38
July 26	25	35	34
August 21	26	34	30
September 29	30	32	38
October 33	25	39	30
November 38	26	36	36
December 32	28	33	30
Average, 32	28	38	34

Hence it appears, that at both places, the sudden changes from cold to heat are greater than those from heat to cold, which is contrary to popular opinion.

It must be observed that comparisons between the years 1805 and 1809, are not unexceptionable, for the former was much more remarkable for bold and sudden changes than the latter.

The annual thermometrical extremes and ranges, at Cincinnati, during 1806, 7, 8, and 9; at Philadelphia, during 1800, 1, 2, and 3, and at Springmill during 1787 and 1805, were as follow:

<i>Cincinnati.</i>			<i>Philadelphia.</i>			<i>Springmill.</i>		
<i>Lowest.</i>	<i>highest.</i>	<i>range.</i>	<i>Low.</i>	<i>High.</i>	<i>range.</i>	<i>Lowest.</i>	<i>highest.</i>	<i>range.</i>
9	94	85	10	90	80	5	96.1	91.1
11 below 0	95	106	7	90	83	2.9 below 0,	100.6	103.5
4 below 0	98	102	10	88	78	—	—	—
2 below 0	94	96	14	90	86	—	—	—
2 below 0	95.25	97.25	10.25	89.5	81.7	3.9	98.3	97.6*

These tabular displays of the results of observations, although very limited in their extent, indicate pretty correctly, it is presumed, the annual and monthly standard heat, and the extremes, ranges, and variations of temperature, at this place, and two nearly corresponding situations in the Atlantic states. From which it appears, that the opinion

* This line shows the mean of the above columns.

concerning the greater heat of this climate, first expressed by our late illustrious President, afterwards glanced at by Loskiel,* and since supported and extended by Mr. Volney, is not, at least in its full extent, correct. The former published his celebrated NOTES, at a time when but obscure accounts respecting this country had been received; the latter *traveled here* in 1796, and therefore should have possessed more correct information. He however seems to have been sometimes misled by a favorite and ingenious, but not unexceptionable hypothesis.

It is true that these respectable writers have collected several facts, and might even have added more, which apparently tend to support the assertion, "that this country is warmer by three degrees of latitude than the Atlantic States." But as the thermometrical observations made at this place tend considerably to invalidate this opinion, it is necessary, if possible, to refer the phenomena they have observed to other causes. It may be urged, however, that the observations which have been stated, should not be compared with those made at Philadelphia; for the summers of large cities, it is said, are warmer than those of the surrounding country, by several degrees of latitude.† If this were the case, the comparisons that have been made, would indeed be altogether inconclusive. But that it is not, seems highly probable: for in 1805 the summer and annual temperatures were precisely the same at Philadelphia and Springmill, though the latter has 50 feet greater elevation; and the summer heat of 1787 and 1805 at Springmill, and 1793 at Nazareth, bore the same ratio to the annual heat, as the summer and annual heat of Philadelphia ordinarily bear to each other.‡ So that the comparisons which have been made are certainly entitled to considerable confidence.

It has generally been thought that less ice is formed in this country, than in the same latitudes in the Atlantic States. This observation has more especially been applied to the Ohio and Delaware, the former of which is almost every winter frozen over at Philadelphia, while the latter at this place is but seldom blocked up with ice which it floats, and was never known to freeze over. Geography

*History of the Missions.

†Caldwell's Memoirs.

‡Med. Museum, Med. & Phys. Journ. & Rush's Inq. & Obs.

however furnishes an explanation of this fact. The Delaware rises in mountainous lands, and runs nearly a southern course, bringing down with it the temperature of an elevated region of 42 deg. latitude. The Ohio also rises in a mountainous tract, but before reaching this place it meanders for 400 m. in a deep valley, which probably somewhat reverberates the sun's rays, & which in one place is as low as 38 deg. lat. receiving in its course, the Great Kenhawa, from lat. 36 deg. the Big Sandy and other southern streams. In consequence of this, the water is too warm to be reduced extensively to ice, unless the duration of our periods of cold weather (which are frequently intense) were longer. This explanation receives support from the fact, that the great river Mississippi, which rises far north, has had ice sufficiently strong to bear carriages, formed on its surface, in a single night, in 38 deg. lat. This was affirmed to me by the Messrs. Rectors, as occurring at St. Genevieve, in the winter of 1808-9.

The residence, in this country, of the Paroquet, a bird which in the maritime states, does not inhabit a higher latitude than 36 degrees is considered by Mr. Jefferson* a proof of the greater mildness of our climate. But his book furnishes sufficient evidence, that those parts of Virginia which are nearly two degrees farther north than the habitation of the Paroquet, have a milder climate, or at least as mild an one as we know ours to have. So that some other explanation of this fact must be adopted, and that furnished by the learned professor Barton, seems the most plausible. He ascribes this difference of cis and trans-montane latitude to the great length and southern course of our rivers; along which birds in migrating, are fond of traveling.†

This more extensive migration of birds, (animals that are known to contribute very much to the dissemination of seeds) may be one reason why certain vegetables, such as the reed and catalpa, are found farther north in this than the Atlantic countries; but the southern origin of the rivers of western Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and the fertile, calcareous, alluvial constitutions of our soil, probably are the true causes.

After all, however, it is not denied that this country is possibly warmer than the same parallels in the eastern states, but not by any means in such a degree as has been supposed;

* See his Notes.

† Fragments of the Nat. His. of Penn. as quoted by Dr. Mease.

and Mr. Volney's tropical summers, during which the thermometer rises to 90 deg. and upwards, for 60 successive days, have never yet occurred here.*

It is asserted in Loskiel's History of the Missions, and the opinion also prevails here, that as we advance northwardly on this meridian, the increase of cold is in a greater ratio than the increase of latitude. No conclusive corresponding observations have been made, to determine this point, but the most striking of those which have been collected shall be briefly related.

At Lebanon, not more than 25 min. north of this place, according to the information of my friend Dr. J. Canby, and others, the complete evolution of vegetation in the spring, is several days later than at this place. Frost occurred there after the middle of May, 1809, more than a week later than at this place. At Dayton and throughout the champaign country traversed by Madriver, in the latitude of Philadelphia, I am informed by Mr. Joseph Pierce, and other inhabitants of that tract, the snows are much more deep and durable, than at this place; and, Indian corn planted as early as the tardy arrival and establishment of genial weather will permit, is frequently overtaken by autumnal frost. This is strictly true, however, only on the prairies; where the unobstructed and rapid progress of the winds produces great evaporation, and consequent coldness.

At Fort Wayne, which is situated in a prairie, about 41 deg. 10 min. north, it appears from letters from Dr. Abraham Edwards of the army, that in the winter of 1808-9, the surface of the ground was covered with snow from the 1st of December to the 1st of April; whilst during the same period at this place, very little snow, but much rain fell; that on the 2nd of January in the same winter, at sunrise, the thermometer was 17 deg. below cypher, and that at 10 o'clock, A. M. on the 24th of the same month, it was 3 deg. below cypher; whilst at the same period, on the former day at this place, the thermometer was nearly 2 deg. above, and on the latter about 10 degrees. That on the 21st March of the same year, at that place, the snow was 14 inches deep, and the Miami of the Lake was closed up with a heavy body

* In *guessing*, this ingenious traveler was not always fortunate, or else he would have lessened the heat of the atmosphere, and increased that of the river, which is not as he stated, 60 or 70 deg. in the summer, but 80 deg. or more.

of ice; whilst at this place, no snow covered the ground, and the thermometer rose as high as 40 degrees. The great coldness observed at Michilimackinac by maj. Swan, and at Hudson's sea by Umphraville & Robson, places, however, west of this meridian, is well known.

It would be incorrect from such desultory facts to draw any general conclusion: they however render the opinion mentioned above, probable, and at the same time extend the comparison between the temperatures of the eastern and western states. They show that the parallel of 41 deg. in our meridians, as in those of Pennsylvania, is the southern limit of steady cold.*

What are the variations of standard temperature, as we advance along a parallel of latitude from the foot of the Alleghenies to the Stony mountains? Future observations in various places can alone determine this. Two or three facts may be mentioned, however, which would induce a belief that it does not at least get warmer, as we advance westwardly. The Wabash and Mississippi freeze over in one night in lat. 38 deg. and lieut. Symmes informed me, that in 1809, the Arkansas froze over in one night, and continued frozen for several days. These facts however, are inconclusive, and we must patiently wait for future contemporaneous observations.

That our climate has undergone a change, is a popular, and with many, a favorite opinion. The regular observations made here at an early period, are too few and desultory to determine this point accurately; and many of them cannot now be had. The deficiency however, has been supplied in part, by conversation with numerous intelligent persons long resident here, and by an abstract obtained from governor Sargent, through the politeness of maj. John Brownson. The conclusion to be drawn from the whole of which, is, that our summers are about the same, our winters nearly the same, though *possibly* somewhat colder.

The winters between 1785 and '91 are stated to have been uniformly mild. The winters of 1792-3, '95-6, '99-1800, 1805-6, and 1809-10 were also very mild. That of 1791-2 was severe, with deep snow; that which fell in January only, amounting to 24 inches. On the 23d of that month, the thermometer was 7 deg. below 0. The

*See Rush's Inq. & Obs.

winter of 1796-7, is universally considered the coldest ever experienced here. On the morning of the 8th of January, according to gov. Sargent, the thermometer was 18 deg. below 0, and in the course of the month it was below that point, 4 other mornings. The Ohio that winter was shut up with ice four weeks, and frost occurred as late as the 22d of May. The winters of 1798-9, 1803-4, 1804-5, 1806-7, and 1808-9, were all severe, but not as intense as that of 1796-7. Of the other winters since 1790, nothing certain can be learned: but, it is believed, that they were temperate.

Of the summers since that time, less can be collected than of the winters. The prevalent opinion, however, is, that on an average, they are neither cooler nor warmer than formerly. The summer of 1808 was excessively hot, while that of 1809 was temperate and pleasant.

Respecting spring and autumn, not much early information can be obtained. But it appears, from the manuscript furnished by gov. Sargent, that the latest vernal and earliest autumnal frosts in 1792, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, occurred about the same time that they were observed to occur in 1807, 8, 9 and 10.

From these data, although not so numerous as could be wished, we may conclude, that the temperature of our climate is now nearly the same that it was 15 years ago: for warm and cool summers have lately occurred, and mild and severe winters succeeded each other before the year 1800, as well as since. If, however, these conclusions be rejected, and our winters and summers still be considered more intense than formerly, the cause must be sought in the partial felling of our forests; which admits the N. W. and S. W. winds, the principal sources of cold and heat, to move with increased velocity. And if so, I would say that just as much change has taken place as this cause can produce; which cannot be very considerable, for the face of our country is as it were, only dotted with farms. In future, as Mr. Volney has conjectured, the more unobstructed progress of the S. W. wind will continue to increase the heat of our summers; but the increase of cold will probably cease at no very distant period; for whenever the forests of the territories N. W. of this are cut down, an amelioration of our winters must be the consequence.

2. WINDS.

The intimate relation between the temperature of a country and its winds renders it necessary to treat of them as nearly in connection as possible. The subjoined table shows pretty accurately the proportions of our different winds in 1809; but except it, this article will contain but inconsiderable additions to what has been before published by others.

719 observations were made, of which there were

	E.	SE.	SSE.	S.	SSW.	SW.	W.	WNW.	NW.	NNW.	N.	NNE.	NE.	ENE.	Calm.
In Jan.	0	03	00	4	00	17	2	0	23	0	2	0	07	0	00
Feb.	0	08	00	0	03	11	7	0	11	2	1	0	17	0	00
Mar.	1	01	07	3	01	16	11	1	10	1	0	3	05	2	00
Apr.	3	08	00	0	00	20	05	0	08	1	0	1	13	0	00
May	0	07	00	3	00	14	07	2	13	0	3	0	10	0	03
June	0	02	00	1	00	31	01	0	04	2	2	4	09	0	06
July	0	10	00	3	00	14	03	2	05	0	8	0	14	0	06
Aug.	0	04	03	2	00	26	04	0	10	0	0	0	09	0	04
Sept.	4	05	00	6	00	14	01	0	07	0	0	2	11	0	09
Oct.	3	14	03	1	00	32	0	0	01	0	2	0	06	0	00
Nov.	1	10	2	2	00	08	06	0	08	4	0	0	10	0	07
Dec.	6	05	00	1	01	12	10	4	09	0	0	0	00	0	14
	18	77	15	26	5	215	57	9	109	10	18	10	111	2	49

In the following table the proportion which each particular wind bore to all the rest, at this place in 1809, and also the proportion which each wind bears to all the rest in some of the Atlantic states, is exhibited. It obviously, however, cannot be the basis of any very correct general conclusions.*

Winds	Western States	Eastern States	Excess in West. states.	Excess in East. states.
E.	.268	.960	—	.662
S. E.	1.137	1.111	.026	—
S.	.600	.708	—	.108
S. W.	3.200	2.127	1.073	—
W.	.985	.703	.282	—
N. W.	1.616	2.767	—	1.151
N.	.565	.432	.133	—
N. E.	1.632	1.194	.438	—
Southern	4.937	3.946	.447	—
Northern	3.813	4.393	—	.580

*It was conceived that this could be most advantageously done by means of decimals. Ten was assumed as the whole of the observations and each fraction expresses the proportion which the wind, placed opposite to it, bore to all the rest. The observations were reduced to 8 principal points, and the 49 observations when it was calm were rejected. The Eastern observations, all made in the middle states,

With regard to the S. W. wind the following facts may be stated:—1. It prevails more than any other. 2. It commences, generally, sometime after sunrise, and ceases towards evening. If it continue after dark, more especially with any degree of violence, it indicates rain. 3. It seldom follows rain under 12 or 24 hours. 4. It attends, and indeed is the principal cause of our warmest weather. 5. It prevails more here than in the Atlantic states, and is one of the causes of this country being warmer than that, if it be. 6. Most of its phenomena are conformable to the beautiful theory of the very ingenious Mr. Volney, but numerous additional observations are still wanting.

Of the N. W. wind, it may be remarked:—1. It is colder than any other, and the longer it continues, the lower is its temperature:—2. At this place it comes from a region altogether south of the great chain of lakes; while in its passage to the middle Atlantic states, it travels over that chain, for several hundred miles. This fact shows the possibility of its being as intense at Cincinnati, as at Washington or Baltimore; although in reaching those places, it has crossed the rampart of the Alleghenies: For that it acquires heat from the lakes, is evident from the warmth of those places to the leeward of Erie:—3. It almost invariably follows rain:—4. It has not diurnal intermissions like the S. W. wind, but frequently blows throughout the night:—5. It sometimes brings rain, oftener snow, but in 9 cases out of 10, it is the harbinger, and indeed the cause of clear weather:—6. An inspection of the preceding table shows that if the same parallels be colder, on the eastern and western sides of the mountains, it is as much owing to the undue prevalence of the N. W. wind there, as to the predominance of the S. W. wind here. The surfaces of the Atlantic ocean, and the countries lying between it and the mountains are generally warmer than the mountains themselves, and hence W. and N. W. winds are readily produced:—8. It generally wafts forward our thunder storms, as Dr. Franklin long since remarked. It then, contrary to its usual manner, commences to the windward, and probably may be nothing but a deflected S. W. current.

were supplied by Williams' History of Vermont, and Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. The Williamsburgh northern observations were omitted as the extraordinary prevalence of the N. wind at that place has been supposed to be owing to some local cause.

Concerning the N. E. wind, the following facts may be stated:—1. It may reach this place without passing over any part of the Allegheney mountains, by traveling from the mouth of Davis' Straights, over the river St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario and the eastern end of Lake Erie:—2. It invariably produces rain, or snow, or at least cloudy weather, but not to such a degree as in the Atlantic states:—3. It generally commences in the night, and is commonly nothing more than a gentle but steady breeze; sometimes however (more especially it is said, within 2 or 3 years) it is driving and impetuous. 4. When this wind begins to blow, if the thermometer be high, it sinks; if very low, it rises.

The E. and S. E. winds pass over the Alleghenies in reaching this country. They no doubt deposit much of their moisture on those mountains, but still they almost invariably produce rain or snow.—During the night of the 16th of March, 1810, there fell 5 inches of damp snow; the S. E. wind blowing gently during that period, and for most part of the preceding day.

The S. wind may be considered stormy. It is generally impetuous, and as Mr. Tolney has remarked, almost certainly produces lightning. The cause of this curious phenomenon has not yet been developed.

Cotemporary observations at various places, in the courses of our different winds, would probably show, that the southern generally commences to the windward, and the northern to the leeward; and hence, that one division of them is produced by an a posteriori, and the other by an a priori cause. The northern winds we know commence to the south, and it is inconceivable that a volume of heated tropical air should move northwardly, without a *propelling* cause. Whether the east & west winds have their origin to the leeward or windward, is uncertain. The former is *probably* governed by the same laws with the N. E. for it is generally moist & cool, but the character of moistness belongs also to the S. E. wind, so that it is impossible that the E. has sometimes the same origin with the S. E. The west wind, a very pleasant one, may sometimes be a N. W. at other times a S. W. diverted from its proper direction: or it may be compounded of N. W. and S. W. currents which have

impinged and taken the diagonal of their former courses. The S. E. is one of the principal winds of this country, and it possesses characteristics essentially different from the S. and S. W. in as much as it seldom brings thunder, but precedes and attends moderate continued rains. There can be little doubt, from analogy, and from the facts collected by the learned Dr. Mitchell,* but it is a windward current. Accurate observations, however, at the same time, from Charleston to this place, St. Louis, Detroit, &c., are much wanted, and would be highly interesting.

3. WEATHER.

It is difficult to express the proportions of clear and cloudy weather by figures, but the following summary of observations in 1809, is probably worth insertion. In that year, there was an unusual proportion of cloudy weather, and although an uncommon quantity of rain did not fall, it rained very often. The 6th and 7th columns do not, as probably they should, express only those days on which it rained or snowed somewhat copiously; but they express also several sprinkles of both kinds, which were inconsiderable.

	<i>clear.</i>	<i>cloudy.</i>	<i>variable.</i>	<i>hazy.</i>	<i>foggy.</i>	<i>rain & mist.</i>	<i>snow, thnnder & sleet & lightning. hail.</i>	<i>quantity of rain & snow in inches.</i>	
Jan. 6	15	10	—	—	4	4	2	4.6	
Feb. 3	23	—	2	—	8	11	4	5.6	
Mar. 9	11	11	—	—	9	9	3	3.1	
Apr. 10	7	11	2	2	12	—	6	3.4	
May 14	5	9	3	2	4	1	2	4.6	
Jun. 15	4	11	—	11	7	—	14	2.8	
Jul. 21	7	3	—	10	11	—	4	2.4	
Au. 16	3	11	1	12	5	—	4	2.2	
Sep. 24	—	6	—	23	2	—	1	.8	
Oct. 20	4	7	—	17	2	—	—	.5	
Nov. 8	12	8	2	2	2	1	—	1.9	
Dec. 11	16	4	—	—	9	3	1	6.	
	157	107	91	10	79	75	29	41	37.9

Greatest quantity of rain in 24 hours, December 4th, 3 3 inches.
Deepest snow 5 inches.

*See Medical Repository.

No Pluviometrical observations were made at this place, previous to 1809; and I have to regret that those made during that year, and stated in the last column of the above table, are not very accurate. The pluviometer was nothing but an accurately cylindrical tin vessel, of sufficient depth. It was kept in a proper situation, and the water emptied immediately after every rain or snow, kept to the end of the month, and then measured. The column annexed above, if it do not accurately express the quantity of rain during the year, indicated pretty correctly the relative quantities in the different months.

The fogs of the Ohio and its waters are dense, but they rarely continue till 9 o'clock, A. M. They are most constant in June, July, August, September, and October.

The dew in this country is said to be more copious, and the quantity of atmospheric humidity greater, than in the Atlantic states. No comparable hygrometric observations, have, however, been made in the two countries, under circumstances precisely similar; and till that is done, a correct conclusion cannot be drawn. It is highly probable, that on the borders of Lake Erie, and in the depths of those forests which cover level land, the quantity of moisture is greater than in the cultivated portions of the Atlantic States; but a fair comparison cannot be made under circumstances so dissimilar.

The quantity of snow in this country is considerably less than in the Atlantic states in the same latitude; and this is one of the circumstances in which the two countries differ most materially. The E. and N. E. winds, which bring such deep snows east of, & on the Allegheny mountains, in consequence of passing that elevated tract, or from some other cause, produce far less here. We seldom have falls of snow to exceed 6 inches; and generally they are not upwards of four. It is uncertain whether the E. and N. E. or the N. W. produce the deepest snows. The snow which does fall, seldom lies very long, nor are our streams long covered with ice, for our winters are nothing but a succession of mild, and intensive severe weather: So that although their mean temperature be low, the frequent occurrence of transient periods of mild weather counteracts the more powerful operations cold.

We invariably have frost about the termination of the first week of May, and sometimes as late as the end of the third

week. Inconsiderable frosts occasionally occur in autumn, as early as the equinox or before; but the more severe ones are not felt till the 15th or 20th of October. There are, however, great differences between different seasons in this respect. On the night of the last of August, 1789, the Indian corn in the northern parts of Kentucky was greatly injured by frost; and on the night of the 9th of the same month, in 1809, frost was observed in the vicinity of this town.

In the evening, during the summer, our horizon is frequently illuminated with broad obtuse flashes of lightning, which are unattended by thunder or rain. In 1809 the most conspicuous of these appearances were noted; which is the reason that the 8th column of the preceding table contains so many figures.

No barometrical observations have yet been made, or at least published, in this country.

4. CALENDARIUM FLORAE.

Calendaria Florae furnish interesting indications, respecting the influence of climate, upon vegetables, and the lower orders of animals. They, however, do this imperfectly, unless they be kept for several successive years, and the aspects, elevations, and qualities of the soils in which they grow be noted. They must also, as was long since done, be accompanied by certain meteorological remarks, otherwise they frequently exhibit, upon a comparison with each other, considerable contrariety. For the accession of mild weather, in the latter part of winter, or early in the spring, may bring forward vegetation rapidly, for a time; but the occurrence of colder weather may at length suspend its progress to a very late period. This was the case during the present spring. The later part of February was so mild, that the maple and elm began to flower, the rose and weeping willow to leave, and the buds of numerous other vegetables to swell. March, however, nearly suspended these interesting operations; and it was reserved for the genial month of April to revive and nearly complete them, with a rapidity and luxuriance the most unrivalled.

The following fragment, as far as it extends, may serve to indicate the progress of vegetation, in this part of the valley of the Ohio in 1809. Upon comparing it with similar ones kept in 1807 and 8, the dates appear to hold nearly a middle place between the dates of those two years; being in most stages of Spring, about 10 days earlier than the first, and 10 later than the last. There is a difference between this valley and the adjoining upland country probably of 3 or 4 days, except on southern declivities.

As the meteorological observations made during that year have been already detailed, they will not be stated in the calendar.

CALENDARIUM FLORAE. 1809.

- Feb. 27 Flower buds of the water maple (*acer rub.*) swollen.
Do. peach & lombardy poplar beginning to swell.
- March 1 Bees out of the hive.
Wild pigeons (*col. mig.*) geese and ducks (*anas can. et bos.*) returning northwardly.
- 4 Flower buds of the water maple beginning to open.
Commons becoming green.
- 5 Buds of the weeping willow (*s. babylon.*) swelling.
Frogs (*ranae*) sing.
- 9 Buds of the weeping willow unfolding.
- 11 Water maple in full flower.
- 16 Gooseberry leaf buds beginning to open.
Grackle (*gracula quiscula*) arrived.
- 18 Flower buds of the elm (*ul. amer.*) begin to open.
- 25 Doves (*colum. carol.*) mourn.
- 28 Elm in full flower.
Lilac (*syringa vulg.*) beginning to bud.
- 29 Red-headed woodpeckers (*pic. erythro.*) arrived.
House flies appear.
- 31 Radishes, tongue-grass, peas and lettuce planted.
- April 3 Buds of the privet, (*ligust. vul.*) beginning to open.
Appletree buds beginning to open.
Lilac leaves unfolded.
Red currant buds beginning to open. [unfold.
- 4 Flower buds of the sugartree (*acer sac.*) beginning to
Bluebirds (*motacilla sialis*) building nests.
- 5 Purple martin (*hirundo purpurea*) arrived.
- 6 Lombardy poplars in full flower.
- 9 Quince leaves unfolded.
Peach blossoms beginning to open.

- April 9 Gooseberry shrubs in full flower.
 Sand swallow (*hirun. rip.*) arrived.
 10 Leaves of the sweet briar (*rosa rubig.*) unfolded.
 12 Red currants in flower.
 14 Sugartree leaves opening.
 Barn swallow (*hirun. urbica*) arrived.
 15 Peachtree in full flower.
 Weeping willow do.
 Catbird (*muscap. carolinensis*) arrived.
 Tonguegrass fit for the table.
 16 Dandelion (*leonto. tarax.*) in flower.
 Peartrees in full bloom.
 Lombardy poplar leaves unfolding. [9th inst.
 Oats (*avena*) and flax (*lin. usita.*) sowed since the
 20 Appletree in full flower.
 Chimney swallow (*hirun. rust.*) arrived.
 23 Quince in full bloom. [its leaves.
 Black locust (*robin. pseud.*) beginning to expand
 24 Monthly strawberries beginning to flower.
 Lilac in full flower.
 26 Althaea leaf buds beginning to open.
- May 3 Radishes fit for the table.
 9 Dogwood (*cornus florida*) in full flower.
 12 Racemes of the black locust full grown.
 16 Saw nighthawks (*caprim. amer.*)
 White clover beginning to flower.
 18 Blackberry (*rubus occiden.*) beginning to flower.
 Blacklocust in full flower.*
 Indian corn (*zea mays*) planted.
 20 Woodbine (*lonicera caprifol.*) beginning to flower.
 21 Peas fit for the table.
 25 Poplar (*liriden. tulip.*) in full flower.
 Rye (*secale*) beginning to flower.
 28 Sweet briar beginning to flower.
- June 2 Privet beginning to flower.
 4 Red currants beginning to ripen (plentiful.)
 10 Black mulberries (*mor. nig.*) begin to ripen.
 15 Elder (*sambu. canad.*) beginning to flower.

*It is highly probable that the flowering of this beautiful tree, the *Robinia Pseudacacia* of Linnaeus, indicates the proper time for planting that important vegetable the Indian corn. For several successive years I have observed our farmers generally, to plant the corn during some stage of its flowering. This is from the 10th to the 20th of May.

- June 15 Jamestown weed (dat. stram.) beginning to flower.
 16 Flax beginning to flower.
 20 Raspberries (rub. idaeus) ripe (plentiful.)
 24 Cherries (prun. cer.) ripe (plentiful.)
 Timothy (phl. prat.) harvest begun.
 26 Mullein (verbas. thap.) in flower.
- July 4 Rye fit to reap (good crop.)
 7 Poke (phytol. decand.) beginning to flower.
 12 Althaea in flower.
 Blackberries ripe.
 Wheat (triticum) fit to reap (generally good.)
 23 Indian corn beginning to flower.
 24 Oats fit to reap (heavy crop.)
 28 Indian corn in full flower.
- August 1 Eupatorium perfoliatum beginning to flower.
 4 Unripe Indian corn in market.
 9 Early peaches ripe.
 14 Aesculus flava beginning to defoliate.
- Sept. 4 Wild pigeons beginning to arrive from the north.
 13 Lombardy poplar beginning to defoliate.
 20 Wild pigeons numerous.
 26 Woods variegated.
 29 Wild geese arrive.
- Octr. 20 Woods highly variegated.
 But few trees have yet entirely lost their leaves.
 30 Indian corn ripe (great crops.) [ting.
- Nov. 5 Black locust, apple tree, and cherry trees defolia-
 9 Woods almost leafless.
 22 Weeping willow leaves killed by the frost.

ERRATA.

- Page 3, line 1, of the Prefatory Remarks, for "Flora," read *Florae*.
 6, 8, from the bottom, for "maple," read maples.
 do. 15, for "triacunthos," read triacanthos.
 22, 21, for "cosidered," read considered.

IV. *Condition of the Town.*

The well established fact, that customs, manners and habits exert a decided modifying influence on diseases, renders it necessary, before proceeding any farther, to exhibit a concise statement, the items of which, abstractly considered, are insignificant, but taken aggregately, appear to be of too much moment to be omitted.

CINCINNATI was laid out in 1789. The first emigration was in the preceeding year. About two-thirds of the houses are in the 'Bottom', the rest on the 'Hill'. It is in squares of 396 feet. The streets, except Broadway (which is an hundred) are 66 feet wide. They intersect each other at right angles, and the meridional vary 17 deg. W. from N. This cannot be considered so favorable to ventilation as an eastern variation, for our prevalent winds are in a line running from S.W. to N.E. None of the streets are paved. Alleys are not numerous. There is no permanent common, except an inconsiderable one between Front-street and the river.— Along some of our side walks trees are planted, but they are not sufficiently numerous. The absurd clamor against the caterpillar of the Lombardy poplar, caused many trees of that species to be cut down; and at present the white flowering locust very justly attracts most attention: it should be cultivated still more generally.

The number of dwelling houses is about 360. They are chiefly built of brick and wood: a few are of stone. Scarcely any are so constructed as to afford habitations for families beneath the surface of the ground; and not many are built with porches.

The town contains two cemeteries. One is for the interment of the deceased of all denominations. It lies between Fourth and Fifth streets, nearly in the centre of the hill population. It has been a common receptacle for the town, for strangers and for the troops in Fort Washington, previous to the erasement of that garrison, since the first settlements here. Its area is something less than half a square. The other place of sepulture is designed for the use of the Methodist society. It was established about five years ago, in the N.E. quarter of the town, on the hill.

E

There are eight brick yards. They lie in the western part of the Bottom, near the second bank, which is the lowest portion of the site of the town. They abound in pools, the water of which has been drained from almost every part of the town.

The shambles of our butchers are fixed on the bank of Deer creek, to the N. and N.E. of the town. The tanneries are in the same direction.

The population of Cincinnati and its suburbs is 2320 souls. Of which number 1227 are males, 1013 females, and 80 are negroes. The number of children under 16 years is 1051. The number of persons over 45 years is 184. The number who have attained to the Scriptural limit of human life, three score and ten, is not known; but as men who have passed 60 years of age, do not often emigrate to new and distant countries, instances of great longevity are not to be expected here. Indeed from the recent settlement of this place, few or none of its adult inhabitants are its natives. They have emigrated from every state in the union, and from most of the countries in the west of Europe; more especially Ireland, England, Germany and Scotland. The American emigrants have been supplied principally by the states north of Virginia.

A population derived from such distant sources, and so recently brought together, must necessarily exhibit much *physical*, as well as moral diversity. The climate and soil have not yet introduced an uniform constitution of body; nor customs, manners and laws an uniform moral character. The inhabitants are generally laborious. By far the greatest number are mechanics. The rest are chiefly merchants, professional men, and teachers. Wealth is distributed more after the manner of the northern, than southern states; and few or none are so independent, as to live without engaging in some kind of business.

A great portion of the inhabitants are temperate. There are not a few, however, who daily but quietly become intoxicated, and no *very* inconsiderable number have been known to fall victims to that habit. Whiskey is in universal, but not exclusive use, among the intemperate: beer and cider are generally drunk by those of more sobriety. Well water is generally drunk in the summer; and used otherwise by a few, throughout the whole year. But the water of the river drawn up in barrels, is employed for all domestic purposes

by far the greatest number, and is drunk throughout half the year by at least half the inhabitants.

The use of tobacco, among the male sex, is much too general. It is not confined to those who might derive benefit or comfort from it, but extends, with the usual number of exceptions, to all ages, from ten years old, upwards.

The diet of the inhabitants is similar to that of the people of the other middle, and eastern states. Green tea and coffee are in general and extensive use. Fresh meats are eaten in great quantities. Beef, more especially in the summer and autumn, is used to the exclusion of most other meats, in a great many families. The market is well supplied with culinary vegetables. Fermented wheat bread is in very general use. It is commonly eaten fresh, but *hot* bread is much seldomer served up here, than in the southern states. Indian corn bread is by no means uncommon. Rye is almost unknown as an article of food. Fish are not a principal article of diet, though the river affords many.

The dress of our inhabitants is similar to that of the other inhabitants of the middle states. The females injure their health by dressing too thin, and both sexes by not accommodating the quantity of clothing to the changes of the weather. The amusements of balls and other evening parties, so destructive to female health in all parts of the United States, are engaged in here, but not to remarkable excess.

No natural or artificial mineral waters are used here in the summer; nor are there any artificial baths. Bathing in the river is practiced by some, but is less regular and general than it ought to be.

V. Diseases.

Having, in the preceeding sections, taken a cursory view of the physical condition of Cincinnati and its vicinity, we are now prepared for a few enquiries respecting the diseases of its inhabitants. These enquiries, however, will be limited to the fulfillment of a promise, incautiously made, upon distributing the previous sections of these memoranda; before the magnitude of such a work as the Medical History of a new region was fully appreciated. Nothing more, therefore, will be attempted, than briefly to indicate the principal endemic diseases, and their supposed sources.

MIASMATA.

From the topographical survey in the first section of these Notices, it will be readily seen, that Cincinnati is not *naturally* obnoxious to many sources of MARSH MIASMATA. The river beach opposite the town, is narrow, and, neither it, nor the bank exhibits much decomposable matter. The lower and back part of the bottom, afford some portions of ground, that are yearly overflowed by the spring rains; but they might be easily drained, and therefore may be ranked with the artificial causes, which may be always removed. It is to the inundated interval lands about the mouth of Mill-creek, that we are to look for the most prolific source of vegetable miasmata. This miasmata, however, affects the town much less than might be supposed, from the following causes:—1. The drowned lands lie so much to the N.W. that through the summer and autumn the town is but seldom to the leeward of them; the prevailing winds then being from the S.W. During the present autumn, when few or no cases of ague and fever existed in town, a great number of the inhabitants, to the leeward of those grounds, experienced that disease. 2. Of that tract, a large proportion is covered with trees. It should have been left, as nature prepared it for us, *entirely* covered. Where a tract of wet ground can be rendered *permanently* dry, it should be cleared and cultivated; but when it is subject to annual inundation, the case is different. The more completely the

rays of the sun are then intercepted, the lower will be the temperature of the earth's surface, and the less the quantity of noxious gas evolved. 3. Between those intervals and the town, grows a forest of tall trees. There are strong reasons for believing, that the poisonous exhalation from marshes is hydrocarbonate.* Now this substance is readily decomposed by vegetables.† But whether the gas evolved, be a hydrocarbonate, or according to our very ingenious countryman, Professor Mitchell, an oxyd of septon,‡ (which latter substance, however, it has not, I believe, been proven, is decomposed by vegetables) the efficiency of trees in intercepting its progress, and destroying its virulence, is established by numerous authorities.§ This forest should, therefore, be considered in the light of a rampart against a perpetual enemy, and preserved in the most sacred manner.

The artificial sources of miasmata, are not more numerous than the natural, but they are much more operative. The back part of the bottom, throughout its whole length, is a 'hot-bed' of animal and vegetable putrefaction. In some places, it is true, the ground has been raised (not with any regard to health, but to render it cultivable) those parts, however, make much the smallest proportion. The eastern end of this slip of low ground is a broad shallow canal, which conveys the water that falls on the site of the town, saturated with nuisances, to the pits of the brick yards; from whence neither it, nor the putrescent load can escape, except in the form of exhalation or gas. For its escape in this manner the heat of our summer sun, increased by the reflection from the contiguous high bank, is amply sufficient. Upon learning this state of things, observing and reflecting men, who have been accustomed to trace the acknowledged connection between endemic fevers and the spontaneous decomposition of animal and vegetable matter, would not hesitate to pronounce, *a priori*—That our principal febrile diseases, and more especially the typhous affections that have, as will be stated hereafter, scourged us for a twelve month past, are most probably owing to the exhalations here spoken of. But to proceed cautiously, and avoid all possibility of

*See Chisholm on Fever, vol. 1.

†See Fourcroy's System of Chem. Knowl.

‡See Medical Repository.

§See the writings of Rush, Jackson and Barnwell.

error in our conclusions, it will be well to take some additional views.

Upon the settlement of this town, fevers of the typhous kind were not uncommon. They arose, as in all newly settled tracts, from the putrefaction which followed the destruction of the forest and exposure to the rays of the sun of a moist fertile surface. As this was a transient cause, the effect was not permanent, and a period succeeded, which was comparatively healthy. But this state of things was not very durable. The flood of emigration to this place, which commenced in 1805, required such a rapid increase of houses, and consequently of bricks, that in less than three years, the number of brick yards, which previous to 1805 did not exceed two or three, was augmented to eight. The accumulation of filth in those pits which were first dug, had been constantly going forward, so that the quantity of exhalation in 1809 and 10 may be estimated at more than ten times as much as it was seven years before. Now it is notorious, that during those years there occurred more malignant cases, of those diseases which are generally, but improperly termed putrid, than had presented themselves for the seven, or even ten preceding years. Further—These typhous affections prevailed most in December, 1809, but during that month not a single case presented itself east of Main-street, which nearly bisects the town. In the course of the ensuing year cases occurred in the other half of the town, more especially in the eastern end, which is to the leeward of a shallow pond, that has been a common receptacle of filth for more than ten years. The western parts, however, have still been more sickly than any others. Again—December, 1809, was a warm moist month, with southerly winds; and there was not only more sickness during that month than any other, but it occurred chiefly to the leeward of the ponds. Towards the close of January it became so cold that the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer sunk 7 deg. below 0, and not a single case of typhus occurred in the practice of either Dr. Allison, Dr. Sellman, or myself, for a month afterwards. February was mild, and in the beginning of March, the disease returned. It became more healthy in April and the first half of May, but the latter half of that month was intensely hot, and new cases immediately followed; some of them exhibiting symptoms of great malignity. The rest of the year was temperate, even cool, and cases of the same

disease have now and then presented themselves. Thus we see, that those inhabitants contiguous to, and to the leeward of the alledged sources of disease, have been its greatest victims, and that its appearance and disappearance have been considerably influenced by those states of the atmosphere, which were capable of affecting the progress of putrefaction. It is not believed, however, that this is the *sole* cause, that has operated in these cases. Sydenham, more than a century ago, unfolded the existence of sickly states, or constitutions of the atmosphere, during which all the acute diseases that occurred, appeared to partake of certain characteristics in common. Professor Rush, and some other American writers, have, with equal precision and greater science, pointed out the existence of such constitutions in the United States. An atmospheric temperament of this kind appears to have existed in this part of the country for some time past; its tendency seems to have been to favor the production of typhous diseases. This temperament is a predisposing cause. The exciting cause is the miasm or noxious exhalation of which we have been speaking; and wherever such an agent exists, whether in town, or in the adjoining country, these diseases may be produced.

From these tedious but necessary details, it is thought that the opinion of the insalubrity of those ponds is sufficiently corroborated; and it only remains to suggest the means of removing such a potent cause of disease. This is easily done. The gravel, sand and pebbles of the adjoining second bank, form a cheap, convenient and proper material for filling up the pits, except such as are necessary to furnish water for the manufacture of bricks; and it is earnestly hoped that such an important object will no longer be neglected.

Of our cemeteries, it may be remarked, that the one attached to the methodist church, from the limited number that are interred in it, will not very soon evolve much miasmata, and what it may ever produce is too much to the leeward of the town to be a general injury; but the case is different with that of the Presbyterian church. Whenever the population about *it* becomes dense enough to prevent a free circulation of air, and the interments have become double or treble what they now are, its exhalations must inevitably produce disease. No time, therefore, should be lost, in fixing on a new field for sepulture, without the pale

of population, whither the contents of the present should be removed.

The shambles of our butchers, and the tanneries, if they be sources of miasmata, are injurious only when the N. E. wind prevails. At present they have no perceptible agency in the production of our endemics.

These appear to comprehend all the sources of koino-miasmata, and it only remains in this part of the subject, to notice two or three cases of the production of idio-miasmata. Typhus fever has been observed, here, as in other places, to be produced by a domestic cause; for the generation of which, want of cleanliness and want of free ventilation, seem necessary. The latter however, probably has most efficiency. I have observed these circumstances to exist in healthy parts of the town without producing typhus, so constantly as in the sickly parts; so that the public and domestic causes seem sometimes to co-operate. In one instance of this kind, where a large family lodged in a close room of an old wooden house, which stood in the western part of the Bottom, one or two cases of typhus mitior, and two cases of malignant and fatal typhus gravior occurred, coterminously, during a warm winter month. Means were employed to effect free ventilation, and no new cases appeared. It is from such instances as these, that the opinion, that typhus is infectious, has arisen. I can assert from observation, that it is not. I have never seen it extend to more than one or two, in a house that was clean, well ventilated, and its inhabitants were lodged in separate apartments. But it is unnecessary to urge facts against an hypothesis that is already exploded.

If the constant use of fresh beef, and other unsalted meats, in the summer and autumn, be a cause of disease, it must be noticed in this place. But it has not appeared from observation, that they have had much agency in producing the intestinal affections which have prevailed here. Vegetable aliment may produce the exciting cause of that kind of head-ach which depends on the presence of acetous acid in the stomach, provided that organ be previously debilitated; and if the stomach and intestines be in a state of debility, fresh meats may suffer spontaneous decomposition, the oxyd of septon be generated, and all the varieties of intestinal disease produced. In this way, during the debilitating influence of a koino-miasmata atmosphere, the animal fibre received into the alimentary canal may be chemically decomposed, and

produce a disease of the dysenteric kind, which, without such an exciting cause, might have been a fever. In those cases, where a large number of persons have suddenly had dysentery, induced by eating fresh beef, it probably at first acted in a manner similar to that of any other article of diet, to which the stomach and bowels had not been habituated: it excited simple diarrhoea, this debilitated the digestive organs, the production of septic oxyd ensued, and the phenomena of dysentery followed.

VARIATIONS OF ATMOSPHERIC TEMPERATURE.

Neither the cold, nor heat, of the climate of this country, appears to produce many diseases. The former is sometimes so great as to freeze the extremities of those who are exposed; but death has seldom or never been produced by it. Goitre and scurvy, if they be dependent upon cold in other latitudes, are certainly not among its effects here. The heat of our summers appears also to produce but few diseases. The coup de soleil, or stroke of the sun is unknown; and death from the inordinate use of well water, so common in Philadelphia, from some cause is scarcely known here. Langour and oppression are, however, frequently experienced to a distressing degree, more especially upon the sudden accession of hot weather in May and June. Rashes, or cutaneous efflorescences of various kinds, appear to depend on the heat of the summer. Children are much more liable to them than adults. They are certainly diseases, but need not to be dreaded, as they are unattended with danger, and their presence *may* protect the system from more formidable complaints. Febricula, or inward fever, and anorexia, are not uncommon in the hottest weather, but they seldom outlive their cause, and do not often render medical assistance necessary.

But if the extremes of temperature separately, be comparatively harmless, at this place, their sudden alternation is a most fruitful source of disease. By those, however, who skilfully accommodate their dresses and domestic fires to these variations, but little bad effect is ever felt. But among the imprudent, the exposed, and those who are predisposed to the diseases excited by this cause, it produces the worst effects. In the spring and autumn, the diurnal variations, which are greater than in summer, tend to excite intermitting

and remitting fever, as has been remarked by Professor Rush. But this is among the most inconsiderable effects of this cause. In the muscles and membranes of the extremities, it produces rheumatism; in the face and throat, tooth-ach, pain of the jaw and decay of the teeth, catarrh, tonsillitis, &c. in the thorax, pneumonia, consumption, croup, &c. It moreover frequently co-operates with marsh miasmata, and produces a disease in which the phenomena, and the indications of cure, are considerably different from any disease produced by those causes separately.

Whether the effects of this sudden alternation be always in proportion to its degree is doubtful. I have observed a great variation sometimes to occur without corresponding bad consequences: other states of the atmosphere may possibly modify its effects.

Changes from heat to cold, appear to be more prejudicial than those of the opposite kind. One reason of which, probably, is, that the system relieves itself from the effects of a sudden application of heat, by perspiration, but possesses no such resource in the other case.

The natural tendency of this cause seems to be to produce diseases that are *purely* inflammatory; but the winter of 1809-10 furnished opportunities of observing, what had been remarked before by others, that there is in epidemic constitutions, a kind of omnipotency, as it respects other causes of disease. The pulmonary affections, of that sickly season were few, and bore the lancet indifferently.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

Fogs are by many considered an active cause of disease. Dr. Jackson, in his Treatise on the Fevers of Jamaica, seems to have put this opinion in its proper light. A fog may be the vehicle of marsh miasmata, but is not of itself deleterious. It is nothing but elevated water, and can produce no effects beyond those of simple moisture. This a priori decision accords with fact, for in this town, those who are most exposed to the fogs, certainly are not more sickly than others. Both fog and dew, however, may be sometimes the *exciting* causes of fever. By conducting off the heat, and lessening *directly* the excitement of the system, they increase the excitability, and thereby augment the efficiency of miasmata. The internal use of river water has by some people been deemed

unhealthy. Its degree of saline and aerial impregnation, is certainly much less than that of well water, or even that of spring water; but there does not appear to be any just foundation for the opinion of its insalubrity. It produces, so far as observation can determine, no disease, excepting diarrhoea in those unaccustomed to it, which is nothing more than spring and well water produce on those who have been habituated to the use of river water. The occurrence of that disease, is no proof therefore, of the unhealthiness of any water. In some diseases, however, although the river water be not positively unhealthy, the greater benefit resulting from the use of well water, makes it seem so. These are cases of dyspepsia. In this disease the carbonic acid, the carbonates, and other salts of the well water produce very salutary effects. A lady in this town has repeatedly had all the symptoms of dyspepsia aggravated and palliated, by the alternate use of river and well water.

Before concluding the consideration of the causes of disease, it may not be amiss to observe, that some progress has been made, in the discovery of the cause of the endemic disease, announced in the appendix, to the sections of these Notices, which were printed last spring. The people who live where it prevails, are of opinion, that the milk of the cow is poisoned by some unknown deleterious plant on which the animal feeds. It has not yet been discovered; but the experiments which have been made, and the facts which have been collected, seem almost sufficient to command our full assent.

MIASMATIC DISEASES.

In specifying the diseases of this place and its vicinity, it will be proper to commence with those endemics which are ostensibly excited by miasmata. They are the following:—Ague and Fever, Periodical headach, Intermitting and Remitting bilious fever, Typhus mitior and gravior, Cholera morbus, Cholera infantum, Diarrhoea, Dysentery, Jaundice and Ophthalmia.

AGUE AND FEVER. A tertian ague has been considered the simplest form of fever; and if unity of cause, greater regularity in the trains of diseased action, and more uniformity in the disorders consequent upon those trains, entitle any febrile affection to a character of greater simplicity than the rest, it certainly belongs to this disease. Its legitimate cause

appears to be generated by the decomposition of vegetable matter alone; its empire in the system is more limited than that of most fevers; and the same consequence, dropsical effusion, more constantly results from it, when protracted, than almost any consequence from any other disease. In a series of notices, therefore, respecting our endemics, this disease constitutes the most proper commencement.

In the adjoining state, Kentucky, the thirsty calcareous ridges and dry narrow valleys are unfavorable to the production of ague and fever, and it is but seldom felt, except in the vicinity of some of the larger streams. But in this state, especially in the central, northern and western parts, a leveler surface, with a diminished quantity of calcareous and an increased proportion of argillaceous matter, admits of a more frequent production of this disease. Even here, however, it is rarely fatal; and except in a few situations, its prevalence or malignity has never rendered it a serious evil, nor retarded in any perceptible degree, the current of emigration.

Concerning its symptoms, but little need be said. It generally assumes the quotidian type; sometimes the tertian, and more rarely the double tertian, or quartan. When left to itself, it commonly produces hepatic affections of a mild kind, with ascitic or anasarous effusion; but under the ordinary treatment, it seldom proves obstinate, except where its remote cause continues to act. In such cases, when the removal of the patient has not been attended to, it has sometimes resisted the combined action of the most powerful remedies, and proved fatal. Emetics, cathartics, and the bark, with opiates and gentle diaphoretics, are generally found sufficient. In a case of protracted quotidian, the cold fit of which was so intense as to threaten life, my respectable friend and preceptor, Dr. Goforth, administered 4 oz. of the bark in substance, during a single apyrexia. The patient recovered.

With arsenic, exhibited according to the formula of Professor Barton, I have sometimes succeeded; and during the present autumn (1810) a gentle salivation, as suggested by Professor Rush, effected a cure in two cases, which had obstinately resisted many other remedies. The great tendency in this disease to produce hepatic affections, would seem to point out mercury as a principal medicine, in long continued cases.

PERIODICAL HEAD-ACH. As it is deemed correct to range with the ague almost any disease that has diurnal paroxysms, the "sun-pain" or periodical head-ach may be introduced here. In its most regular form, it consists of a pain in the lower part of the os frontis on one side, near the orbit of the eye, commencing early in the morning, and continuing through a part or the whole of the day. But these symptoms are not constant. There does not appear to be any inflammation in the pained part, and the arterial action is generally defective. The stomach and bowels are commonly overloaded with bilious matter. From observations at this place, it prevails more in winter than summer. It is generally sporadic; but in the winter of 1803-4 so many were affected with it, as to entitle it to the appellation of an epedemic. Antispasmodics are absolutely inadequate to the cure, as are also sinapisms and blisters. The latter, however, are a good auxiliary. Evacuations from the stomach and bowels with the subsequent use of the bark, as in ague and fever, are the most certain, and generally the only remedies necessary. I have never known it prove fatal. It does not appear to effect those of any age, sex, or condition, exclusively.

INTERMITTING AND REMITTING FEVERS. To make room for the anomalous affection of which we have just spoken, the higher grades of bilious fever have been arbitrarily separated from the ague, of which they are merely extended and more intense degrees—augmented effects of the same cause. The assertion, which was first made by that illustrious pathologist, Professor Rush, is amply supported by the phenomena which these diseases have exhibited at this place. From the simplest 'shaking ague', with a febrile paroxysm of two or three hours, to an intense bilious fever with a remission scarcely perceptible, I have observed symptoms of the same kind. In the ague the cold fit is considerable; in what is popularly called the dumb ague, and here denominated intermitting fever, the chilliness is less regular and violent, and in the more ardent remittent, the cold stage is feeble or wholly absent. The danger therefore is generally in an inverse proportion to the intensity of the cold stage. A diminution of both chill and fever is favorable, of the chill alone, unfavorable.

As it is only designed in these Notices to announce some of the principal phenomena of our diseases, a detailed account

of the symptoms of these fevers will not be attempted, and the following limited remarks may suffice.

They are invariably attended with an undue excretion of bilious matter. In the present state of pathological science, this excretion is not regarded as the cause of the disease, but it certainly produces some of the secondary symptoms, and aggravates the whole. It also tends to prevent the action of sudorifics, siaagogues and tonics, and I am convinced from experience, notwithstanding the plausible reasonings of that eminent chemist, Professor Mitchell, that it ought to be expelled from the system as early as possible. It has not been proven that the vitiated secretion of the liver contains soda; and if it do, in these cases it will probably be better to alkalize the alimentary canal by some more unexceptionable agent.

The state of the pulse in these affections at this place, has not appeared to vary *very* much. It is commonly full, frequent and tense, but seldom hard or depressed. It has frequently tempted to the use of the lancet, but not always with the anticipated benefit. Indeed our bilious fevers in most cases, although apparently of an inflammatory character, do not admit of copious venesection. For some time past at least, the tendency to typhus has been so great, that the lancet has been almost wholly laid aside. Every autumn is not however alike in this respect, and these diseases have occasionally been presented in a form that unequivocally indicated, and really required extensive bloodletting.

But venesection in these complaints is the only evacuant that is not uniformly beneficial. Emetics and cathartics, diaphoretics and sudorifics, diuretics and sialagogues are all of great consequence. The two first are indispensable. Emetics however cannot be safely employed where the degree of inflammatory action is great; but it appears to me that in the reformed practice of medicine in the United States they are by many physicians, too much neglected. I have repeatedly observed cathartics to fail evacuating the stomach, and in bilious fevers of the milder kind, one or two emetics would probably always be beneficial. The employment of this medicine, however, will not remove the necessity for cathartics; and in all cases they should be administered, and generally repeated till the discharges exhibit a healthier aspect. This is the method which has usually been pursued here, and with satisfactory advantage. It has not, however,

always been possible to procure good discharges, even where medicines, to supercede morbid action, have been employed at the same time. Such cases have usually proved fatal. The choice of cathartics has not been deemed a matter of great moment, provided calomel be not omitted. From the disordered state of the biliary system in these diseases, that medicine seems to be peculiarly required. It is also required as a sialagogue; and when it can be made to produce a good salivation at the same time that it evacuates the bowels, it does all that can be expected from medicine—it invariably cures the patient.

Sudorifics and diaphoretics have been employed in these fevers, after due evacuation from the stomach and bowels, and from the blood vessels in some cases, with manifest advantage. And diuretics have been frequently found serviceable. It appears to me that sal nitre, which in the quantity of a scruple or half a drachm every hour, is no contemptible remedy in the milder bilious fevers, produces its good effects chiefly by operating as a diuretic. After sufficient evacuation and reduction of the tone of the system, the combination of opium with this salt forms a valuable sudorific and anodyne.

Blisters have been employed in these affections with the usual benefit.

Cases of bilious fever have occasionally presented themselves, in which the bark could not be taken even during convalescence; but in most instances, after due evacuation, that medicine has been found beneficial. In general, the probability of its being servicable, is in proportion to the violence of the cold stage. In some cases, where neither the chill nor fever was considerable, I have seen cream of tartar and the bark combined, given throughout the whole twenty-four hours with evident advantage. But these cases should be properly referred to the ague and fever.

Having found but little good effect from nitric acid in other diseases, I have never tried it in bilious fever.

TYPHUS MITIOR AND GRAVIOR. These diseases seem to bear the same relation to each other that is observable in intermitting and remitting fever. They are also in this country closely connected with those affections, and furnish a good proof of the correctness of that pathological idea, which questions the doctrine of diagnostics. The difference between a case of inflammatory remittent, and one of typhus gravior, is indeed very manifest, but these are to be regarded

as the extremes: many of the milder cases are so complicated, that the pathognomonic symptoms of neither disease appear to predominate.

The more characterized cases of these typhus affections frequently exhibit nearly the same derangement of the biliary system with the fevers already noticed. But they are attended with many phenomena not common in those simpler affections, such as inactivity of the functions of the brain, oppression of the thorax, and the exhaustion of the muscular energy. They are also generally accompanied with diarrhoea, in which the discharges are constantly vitiated; and almost invariably with complete anorexia. In the more violent cases the pulse is small, intermitting and frequent, and the pains and anxiety of the thorax and abdomen are very great. In milder cases the pulse is fuller, but always frequent, and the restlessness gives way to profound stupor. The tongue is generally dry, and sometimes covered with a dark colored hard crust that appears cracked into fissures. In two cases there occurred an eruption of pimples, which in a few hours became filled with pus. They both proved fatal. Concerning their other phenomena, the limits of this work will not admit of any detail.

As these diseases consist in a more extended series of morbid actions, than those we have before considered, they are of much more difficult management, and have not unfrequently proven fatal at this place, during the last two years. Before that time they occurred more seldom. Their cure has been attempted nearly in the same way with that of the bilious fever, except the early administration of tonics and stimulants, and the total omission of venesection.

These medicines, with mercury and cold water, would probably in most cases effect a cure, could they be retained in the system; but the tendency to diarrhoea has generally been so great as to preclude the copious exhibition of sudorifics or of mercury, and require the constant use of astringents, demulcents, and alkalies. Of the former class of medicines, saccharum saturni and geranium root (*geranium maculatum*) have been employed with most advantage. Of the latter, the alkaline earth, magnesia alba, has been commonly preferred. When mercury has not been employed, these complaints have generally had their full course, the typhus gravior a shorter, the typhus mitior a longer one. The ordinary remedies in many cases appear to have saved life, but not

cured the disease. Mercury, however, has done both. In the few instances in which a genuine salivating effect has resulted, the disease has yielded and the patient recovered, some cases have occurred in which mercury ulcerated the mouth without producing ptyalism, and then it did but little service.

Blisters have been a constant remedy in these typhus affections. Much advantage has frequently resulted from them; but it has been considerably diminished, by the strong tendency to gangrene which the blistered places, in a great number of instances, have shown. Among the effects of blistering in a case of typhus mitior, may be mentioned the total suspension of a copious ptyalism attended with sore mouth, for two days, and its return upon the cessation of inflammation in the blister.

A *local* application of cold water has been frequently made, with obvious advantage. But a general affusion, as recommended and practised by several ingenious physicians of the present day, has never been resorted to here. Many cases of our mixed fevers, appear to be very analagous to those in which Dr. Jackson found the cold affusion so beneficial; but at this place medical intrepidity has heretofore yielded to the invincible prejudices of the people. In May, 1810, I had a case of typhus mitior, in which the patient was exposed, covered with a single sheet, to a constant and copious current of fresh air, except a few hours of the latter part of the night: His recovery, which was unusually rapid, appeared to depend much more on that than on the medicines employed.

CHOLERA MORBUS & CHOLERA INFANTUM. These affections having essential symptoms in common, and probably depending on a similar mode of action of the same cause, may be considered together. Their phenomena, however, are not perfectly identical. The first is generally a disease of adults. When it has appeared at this place, it was attended with inconsiderable fever, but with copious bilious discharges, and ultimately with spasms and cramps. It has usually terminated in health in 24 or 48 hours. The cholera infantum is commonly attended with fever, which is sometimes intense; the discharges are not uniformly bilious; stupor and insanity are apt to supervene; it sometimes terminates in health, or in death, in two or three days; but generally has a protracted course, producing, with great debility,

a peculiar, sunken and languid state of the eyes. These two varieties of cholera agree, however, in being apparently excited by an irritating material, exerting a strong impression on the stomach and duodenum.

The former of these diseases is much rarer at this place than the latter. It appears sporadically during the warm part of the year, but has never yet been epidemic. Of its treatment I have nothing to observe, except that in one protracted case, in which the discharges were very bilious, a salivation, induced, principally, by mercurial frictions, suddenly removed all the symptoms.

The Cholera Infantum prevails every summer, in this town and its vicinity, and may be regarded as the principal disease to which our children are liable. As in other parts of the United States, it precedes the other summer and fall endemics, generally beginning in June, and sometimes much earlier. In this disease I have seen calomel in small doses, with, or without opium, according to the state of the pulse, as recommended by Dr. Miller, of more service than any thing else. Cold applications to the abdomen, and head, have also proved very advantageous. I have never tried the cold immersion, as practiced by some physicians. At the same time, that the refrigerating applications are made to the head, sinapisms to the feet have been useful. When the evacuations have been very copious, and the child's strength is very much reduced, calomel and opium, with a milk decoction of the geranium root are invaluable. This complaint, however, has frequently resisted the powers of these and other medicines, and either proved fatal in two or three days; or assumed a protracted form, and yielded to nothing but the frosts of the succeeding autumn.

DIARRHOEA & DYSENTERY. An epidemic diarrhoea, has never been known here. This disease, however, occasionally presents itself throughout the whole summer; and appears like the other endemial affections of the warm season, to depend on miasmata. Its cure has generally been attempted with rhubarb, and other cathartics, followed by alkalies, farinaceous preparations, geranium root, and other astringents; aided, in obstinate cases, by the cold bath, flannel next the skin, and exercise on horse-back.

The Dysentery is a more formidable disease. Every summer and autumn furnish sporadic cases of it, and in 1808 it was epidemic. In the month of July, of that year, it was

more prevalent. than any disease has ever been at this place, except the influenza. Fevers, during its predominance, were not observed to occur, and the simple diarrhoea and cholera infantum, which appeared cotemporary with it, did not long preserve their pathognomonic characters. Notwithstanding this power of banishing, or assimilating to itself other diseases, this epidemic was mild, and proved fatal in but few instances. It was not often attended with fever, and the appetite, generally, was unimpaired. The morbid cause appeared to exert a very limited power on the system, mucous and sanguinous discharges, with gripings, constituting the principal symptoms. Large portions of *Ol. ricin.* alternated with opium, or opium and ipecac, were chiefly relied upon; and when aided by amylaceous and glutinous preparations, were generally sufficient. When astringents were required, the geranium root was employed with success. The carbonates of potash and magnesia were exhibited in several cases, but not with very marked advantage. In the dysenteries of some parts of this country, however, they have been found more efficaceous. My friend, Dr. Canby, has employed them along with the usual remedies, with a success, as honorable to himself and his profession, as to the respectable Professor, who first pointed out their *modus operandi* in this disease, and insisted on their exhibition. The dysentery of 1808 was so mild, that calomel was scarcely resorted to. It had been epidemic previous to that year, but has not been since.

JAUNDICE. This is one of our endemics, but it is seldom very prevalent. Throughout the whole of the year 1808, cases of it presented themselves more frequently, than before, or since. It was generally attended with a dull pain in the pit of the stomach. I heard of its proving fatal in one case, in the vicinity of this town. In one instance it was connected with a slight eruption, and violent itching in the skin, attended with a synocha pulse, and required bloodletting. Generally the pulse was weak, and the whole system appeared to partake of the inaction of the alimentary canal. It affected adults more than children.

As a remedy for this disease, the puccoon root (*sanguinaria canadensis*) has been recommended by Dr. Schoepf.* The people in this part of the country employ a tincture of it.

* See Barton's Collections, part 1.

for the same purpose, and from experience I can declare it almost a specific. But I prefer giving it in substance.

OPHTHALMIA. On the arrangement of this affection among the miasmatic diseases, it is by no means intended to insist. The following are the reasons for which it was referred to that head, and physicians can estimate them, as they deserve. 1, The ophthalmia is an endemial disease of this country, which like our other endemics, appears sporadically every summer, and occasionally becomes epidemic, affecting great numbers, especially children. 2, It occurs as much, if not more, along our water courses, and in the depths of forests, as on open plains or uplands; and therefore neither dust, not reflected light, has any agency in its production. 3, When epidemic, it appears and declines about the same time, with our other summer miasmatic diseases. 4, It has been prevalent before the annual burning of the woods, which invariably takes place in some parts of this country, and therefore is not occasioned by smoke. 5, In the summer of 1807, I was assured of two cases, in which this disease alternated with cholera infantum; the ophthalmia prevailing at night and the cholera infantum in the day. Similar cases have been mentioned to me by Dr. J. Canby. 6, This disease has diurnal exacerbations. It is generally worst at night, even where the eyes have not been exposed to the light. In one case, the subject of which (a man of veracity and observation) communicated the account to Dr. Este, of Hamilton, it assumed a certain type. During the paroxysm, which had about the length of a common fit of fever and ague, light and every exertion of the eye were intolerable; but during the intermission, he was entirely free from those morbid sensibilities. The same physician has also lately met with a case in his practice at that place, in which ophthalmia had true tertian paroxysms. 7, Topical applications are seldom adequate to the cure, and means calculated to operate on the general system, must be resorted to, in all violent cases. 8, It is somewhat difficult to conceive, how, either directly, or through the medium of the general system, the action of miasmata can be concentrated in the eye; but there does not appear to be in it, any physical impossibility.

Of the local remedies in this disease, I have generally seen the stimulating, the most beneficial. Cold water seldom gives permanent, and frequently not momentary relief. I had

lain it aside before reading the experiments of Dr. Wilson, which prove inflammation to consist in defective, instead of excessive action. Of the general remedies, blood-letting and purging are frequently necessary. They reduce the action of the system, at large, when necessary, and prepare it for the exhibition of opium and sudorifics. The former is necessary in all obstinate cases. I have seen from two to six grains given during a single night, with obvious and permanent advantage. In protracted cases, a salivation would probably be of great service. In a case of several months standing, in which the eyes were covered with films, to such a degree, as to produce total blindness in one, and very impaired vision in the other, after various collyria, blistering, repeated cupping, sternutatories, cathartics, opium and tonics (the pulse being weak) were employed for several weeks, with inconsiderable advantage; a salivation suddenly removed most of the inflammation, and promoted the absorption of the films, so far as to restore one eye entirely, and render colors perfectly distinguishable by the other.

DISEASES CONNECTED WITH VARIATIONS OF ATMOSPHERIC TEMPERATURE.

The diseases comprehended under this head, are not *exclusively* produced by changes in the temperature of the atmosphere; but this cause so frequently excites them, that they may with propriety be referred to it. The principal ones which have been observed to occur here, are Catarrh, Consumption, Pleurisy, Peripneumony, Rheumatism, and Tooth-ach.

CATARRH. This is the most ordinary and simple effect of the above cause. It does not appear to be more frequent or obstinate here than in other parts of the United States. The schneiderian membrane appears to be first affected in most cases of this disease. From thence the morbid action extends to the pharynx and larynx, and the pulmonary affection follows. In children, this disease is sometimes attended with such symptoms, that it can scarcely be distinguished from the genuine croup, except by the facility with which it yields to medicine. The common catarrh, upon a reference to its cause, appears to be essentially different from the influenza, and should probably be always regarded, in the language of Dr. Sydenham, as an intercurrent disease; yet

it sometimes becomes almost as prevalent as the epidemic just spoken of; and there is some foundation for believing that in the causes of the two diseases there is an intimate connexion. But as one of them results even from a trifling variation in the state of the circumambient caloric, and the other traverses whole continents, uninfluenced by any changes of that kind, it is difficult to perceive in what the connexion consists.

The catarrh is frequently a harrassing and protracted disorder, but is formidable, chiefly, as an exciting cause of consumption, of which we will now proceed to speak.

PULMONARY CONSUMPTION. From Dr. Spalding's bills of mortality, it appears that in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a fifth of the deaths are from this disease. In Philadelphia it carries off between a fifth and a sixth. In this town, from several years observation, I am confident that a tenth or twelfth of our deaths from consumption, is a liberal estimation. So that if we make due allowance for the skilfuler treatment of this deplorable malady by our more enlightened fathers and brethren of the maritime cities, we may conclude that consumption occurs nearly three times as often in those places as in this town. It has, however, been a more frequent and fatal disease since the influenza of 1807, than before. Its subjects are generally women, between the ages of 15 and 30 years.

I have not had the satisfaction of seeing this disease cured by a salivation. In several cases mercury, in conjunction with the usual auxiliaries, has been exhibited to such an extent as to produce ptyalism for several weeks: It has appeared to mitigate, but in no instance, whatever, to remove the disease. From digitalis no greater benefit has been derived. In cases of legitimate phthisis, its exhibition has been continued unceasingly for several months; and it has sometimes moderated the pulse, but never superseded the cough or hectic fever. In two instances the vegetable alkali was given for many weeks in large quantities; but no advantage resulted. Of the efficacy of those nearly obsolete remedies, carbonated hydrogen gas and azotic gas, mixed with atmospheric air, I can say but little from experience. But in the vicinity of this town, nearly a whole family has been swept off by consumption, while living in a situation, the atmosphere of which, must have abounded, at least, with the former of these gases; and in 1808, a phthisical patient was put

under my care from an aguish part of the country, whose hectic fever was preceded, every other day, or every third day, by a chill and shake, so violent, that her friends supposed her to have the ague. The two diseases, indeed, appeared to be combined.

PLEURISY. This disease was more prevalent here previous to the visitation of the influenza, than since. It has seldom presented itself in such a shape as prohibited the use of the lancet. It is almost invariably attended with a preternatural excretion of bile, and not unfrequently with a very obvious degree of hepatic affection. Bleeding, blistering, and the common antiphlogistic regimen are inadequate to the cure in such compound cases, and a liberal use of mercury must be resorted to. It has been given so as to evacuate the bowels freely, and also to excite a ptyalism as early as possible. Upon the accession of that effect, the symptoms have almost invariably yielded. Mercury, indeed, is wholly indispensable in these bilious pleurisies, and when combined with the ordinary antiphlogistic treatment, is seldom unsuccessful.

PERIPNEUMONY. That singular epidemic the influenza, whilst it diminished, at this place, as has just been stated, the number of cases of pneumonia pleuritis, seems to have invited a more frequent occurrence of the pneumonia peripneumonia; for since the autumn of 1807, the latter disease has been much more common, than previous to that period. Its most conspicuous phenomena are, a frequent elastic pulse, cough, obtuse pain in some part of the thorax, or the total absence of all pain in that region; frequent and difficult, but not painful respiration, and inability to lie with the head and shoulders level with the body. In one case which terminated in vomica, not the slightest pain was at any time felt above the diaphragm; but there was a constant pain in the lower part of the left hypochondrium, attended with vitiated alvine discharges. In this complaint, there is not, as in the pleurisy, any crisis on the 5th, 7th, or 9th day, but it continues until, probably from congestion or disorganization of the lungs, it terminates in death, at no specific period; in vomica; or in health, from the successful exhibition of medicine. It is, like the pleurisy, occasionally attended with derangement of the biliary system.

In the treatment of this complaint, blood-letting and the ordinary antiphlogistics, are indispensable; but it is seldom possible to reduce the morbid force and frequency of the

pulse by them alone. From the progress and termination of several cases, it is rendered probable, that mercury and digitalis are the most efficient medicines that can be superadded to the common debilitating means. The first of those active substances should be given so as to produce a ptyalism, which in part effects the reduction of the pulse, and appears to prepare the system for the reception of the second. In the administration of the digitalis, a constant regard should be had to its effect on the pulse. If it do not produce a slow, pausing pulse, it is of but little advantage. During the convalescence from this disease, I have felt the pulse of a young adult, at 52 and 54 or 56 strokes in a minute, with very remarkable intermissions: when it was in that state she felt active and comfortable; when a relaxation in the exhibition of the medicine permitted the pulse to rise to 70 or 80, dyspnoea, & oppression at the breast rendered it difficult for her to lie down, or to make any considerable exertion. A salivation preceeded its use in this instance, and indeed in almost every case of peripneumony, in which it has appeared to be serviceable. The following case will in part confirm this, and may be somewhat interesting in other respects.

W. W. aged 26 years, with a flat chest, and distant shoulders, was seized in July with a severe cough, and inability to lie with his head and shoulders low. After trying the use of some popular remedies for several days, with no good effect, he applied to me. Finding his skin cool, his pulse slow and weak, his thorax entirely free from pain and stricture, and that he had no thirst, and could walk about, I did not at first suspect the existence of inflammation. An emetic and cathartic, with the subsequent use of anodynes, and a plaster of Burgundy pitch, were employed without any advantage whatever. In three or four days he was unable to lie down at all. His exemption from pain, and weak pulse continued; but it was determined to bleed him.—About eight ounces were taken, which exhibited some slight traces of buff. A blister was then applied to his side. His pulse did not rise, from bleeding, but as he felt rather better, the next day, it was repeated to the quantity of twelve ounces. The blood drawn this day was more sizzly; and after the operation, his pulse rose a little. On the succeeding day he was bled again. The blood exhibited much inflammatory crust, and after the operation his pulse became full, tense and frequent. His cough continuing, the admin-

istration of calomel, with squills and nitre, was now commenced. Venesection, to the quantity of fourteen or sixteen ounces, was continued every day, or every other day, from this time for a week, the pulse beating 120 strokes in a minute, with a great degree of energy. The blood was remarkably cupped and sizzly. By the expiration of that time, a salivation came on. No considerable reduction of the pulse followed, but he was able to lie with his head and shoulders lower. The use of digitalis was then begun. It was given in substance. In three or four days the expected intermissions in the pulse occurred, and it was soon at 60 and 54 in a minute, having sustained an equal reduction in its force and fullness. The cough soon became more moderate, expectoration increased, and his amendment was unequivocal. The digitalis has been continued ever since (a period of six months) in such quantities as generally to keep his pulse in a state of defective action; he has taken exercise on horse-back, and at this time has as good a prospect of complete restoration, as is consistent with a malformed thorax.

Was the pulse depressed in this case? Is it not more probable that the disease was at first local, and that the arterial system did not sympathize for some time. In the fanciful manner of Dr. Darwin, it might be said, that depletion increased the sensorial power of association, and brought the general system into excessive action, much sooner than it otherwise would have come.

Judging, which, however, is improper, from the event of a few cases, I am not disposed to ascribe much efficacy, in this disease, to the carbonic acid and carbonated hydrogen gases, as recommended by Dr. Withering and Dr. Beddoes.

CROUP. The cynanche trachealis, or hives, is here, as well as in the middle and northern maritime states, one of the principal diseases of children. It prevails more in autumn, winter, and spring, than in summer, and more in some years than others; but it has never assumed that malignant and epidemic character which, according to Dr. Dick, it exhibited at Alexandria in 1799. It is almost invariably attended with fever, and as constantly with a disordered state of the bowels, the alvine excretions being green or blackish.

In one case, only, have I employed blood-letting to any considerable extent. The infant had labored under the disease 16 or 18 hours, but still had a vigorous pulse. The

quantity taken was so considerable, as to produce partial delirium. Many other of the usual remedies were employed, but the patient died. I have seen the violent operation of strong emetics at the commencement of the disease, as recommended by Dr. Rush and others, of great service. In one case that was fully formed, more than a dozen motions were procured by an emetic, in less than an hour; and the little patient began to recover immediately. After the operation of a strong emetic and cathartic, I have found the exhibition of a decoction of Seneca root, as recommended by Dr. Archer, of more benefit than anything else. Unusual quantities of emetic medicines are necessary to produce vomiting in these diseases; and the same observation may be made respecting the Seneca decoction. It should be very strong, and in most cases given in larger quantities than are recommended by Dr. Archer. In one case that was about to terminate fatally, such a free exhibition of this decoction was made, as to dislodge from the glottis great quantities of thick phlegm, tinged with blood. The irritation throughout the whole system was so great, for a few minutes, as almost to produce convulsions, but the urgent croup symptoms were mitigated, the threatened dissolution averted, and the child recovered. Would not the roots of the *Sanguinaria Canadensis* (which indeed have been employed) the *Lobelia siphilitica*, and the *Jeffersonia binata*, produce the same effect? The warm bath and blistering are excellent auxiliaries in this disease; but the first should never be employed until the intensity of the fever is abated by evacuants.

RHEUMATISM. This disease frequently presents itself in this country, but not often in a formidable shape. It appears to result from exposure to vicissitudes of the weather. Now and then it assumes the form of lumbago. In one instance it terminated in white swellings of various parts of the body. Among many other remedies, a protracted salivation, with a subsequent course of the volatile tincture of gum guaiac, was employed in this case without any good effect.

In the treatment of the milder cases of rheumatism, the people use the Seneca oil, a bituminous substance brought down the Allegheny river. Concerning the remarkable efficacy of this liquid, in removing the numerous cases of rheumatism and stiffness in joints, in a detachment of troops, here is a note by B. Lincoln, Esq. in the first volume of the *American Museum*.

The poke (*phytolacca decandra*) and the prickly ash (*zanthoxylum fraxinifolium*) are popular remedies of considerable estimation; but the *actea racemosa*, or squaw root, will probably supersede them. This powerful medicine has received too little attention from physicians. In two instances in this town, in which it was taken to excess, it produced the most violent and alarming effects. One of them I had an opportunity of witnessing. In about an hour after the tincture was taken, by a person able to go about, and of an inflammatory diathesis, violent pain in the epigastric region came on, with vomiting, intense head-ach and delirium. The face was flushed, and the pulse full, frequent and tense. The loss of fourteen or sixteen ounces of blood, followed by a portion of paregoric, and the subsequent use of a cathartic, carried off these disagreeable symptoms. The people no doubt frequently err, by using this medicine when too much inflammation exists.

TOOTH-ACH. Pain of the jaw, decay of the teeth, and tooth-ach, are common here, but by no means so frequent as in some of the states. According to Dr. Hazletine, these diseases constitute an eighth of the morbid affections incident to the inhabitants of the province of Maine.

Dr. Foot, in an ingenious paper, inserted in the Medical Repository, has rendered it highly probable that the undue prevalence of these maladies in the United States, is referrible to the sudden vicissitudes in our climate. The action of septic acid, generated in the mouth, may account for the destruction of the teeth in some particular instances; but it is difficult to believe that the teeth of the inhabitants of a whole country can suffer from that cause. I have seen a fine set of teeth apparently decomposed and very much injured in the course of a year, during which time the person labored under a high degree of dyspepsia, and frequently ejected a very sour liquid. If it be possible for oxalic acid to be generated in a human stomach, it probably was in this case, and in its passage through the mouth effected the decomposition of the teeth.

It frequently happens, that those who have decayed teeth, are seized with pains in the jaws, or some other parts of the face. These pains are often extremely severe. They are not fixed, but attack almost every part of the jaw and sometimes all the teeth in succession; but the most remarkable circumstance is, that the decayed teeth are quite as much and

in some cases more exempt from pain than the rest. The immediate exciting cause of this kind of pain, is exposure to cold; but the agency of the decayed teeth appears manifest, from the impossibility, in many cases, of removing the pain without extracting them. In one instance, the pain, after attacking most parts of the face, at length affected the whole anterior part of the head. The use of snuff, however, soon transferred it to the face again, where it obstinately resisted the application of galvanism and many other stimuli: upon extracting two decayed teeth, in which scarcely the slightest pain had been ever felt, the whole disease instantaneously vanished. In another case, the pain of the face was attended with many of the phenomena of hysteria; and likewise appeared to have a periodical type, recurring many times, in the forenoon. The pulse was weak during the paroxysm. The bark and volatiles afforded considerable relief. A blister was drawn, on the neck: it moderated the pain of the face, but became affected itself with a most insupportable sensation, which was likened to the action of needles or of animalculæ in the flesh, and at the same time it became very much inflamed.

There can be no doubt but that, as Dr. Darwin has asserted, this pain of the membranes which invest the jaws and alveoli, contributes to the destruction of the sound teeth; and therefore those teeth which are already decayed should be extracted as soon as any pain in the face is felt.

EPIDEMIC DISEASES.

Concerning these diseases but little will be said. They are, Measles, Mumps, Hooping-Cough, Angina maligna, Scarlatina anginosa, and Influenza.

It is not pretended that these affections can, properly, be grouped together; and by most physicians, the following superficial reasons for this arrangement will be deemed wholly insufficient:—They are seldom or never sporadic, but when they occur, it is almost invariably in an epidemic form; and as they do not appear to have the same origin with our miasmatic endemics, which are either local or general, according to the extent of their causes, they cannot be ranked with that tribe. Thus they have some agreement in cause. In their symptoms, although it have not been generally remarked, there is also some loose analogy. They all affect the throat and lungs chiefly. But in the type of the fever, which accompanies them, the similitude fails, for

some are generally attended with synocha, and others as continually with typhus. How they are arranged, however, in this series of memoranda, is a matter of little moment.

MEASLES. This disease has occasionally prevailed here, but not having seen many cases of it, I am unable to say whether its symptoms have exhibited any peculiarities. It does not appear to have proven fatal in any instance at this place.

MUMPS has also prevailed in Cincinnati and the adjoining country several times. In the year 1807, it was more general than at any other period. A few cases of its retrocession then occurred. In one instance of that kind, blood-letting, cathartics, and saturnine applications to the sympathetic tumour, which was large, were of very essential service.

HOOPING COUGH has affected the children of this part of the country more than either of the preceding diseases. For several years, indeed, it appears never to have been extinct in every section of this part of the state. In its symptoms nothing very peculiar has been observed, except that during the state of atmosphere which produces croup, the hooping-cough has sometimes assumed or counterfeited the phenomena of that disease. When medical aid has been applied for, emetics and cathartics, with the subsequent use of expectorants, tonics, and the cold bath, have generally been found sufficient. In one case, blood-letting appeared of decided advantage. A sweetened decoction of colts-foot or wild ginger (*tussillago*) is a popular remedy here, as in other parts of the United States. The precise value of this medicine appears to remain yet to be ascertained.

ANGINA MALIGNA & SCARLATINA ANGINOSA. The former of these diseases had an extensive and fatal prevalence in this country 18 or 20 years ago. It does not appear to have been epidemic since. The latter probably never has prevailed generally here. Within two years, however, there has been at this place a tendency to both these diseases. Within that period, a few bad cases, and a considerable number of very mild ones, more especially of the former disease, have occurred. It would seem as though their cause or causes were or had been among us, but in a state too diluted or unformed, to excite an extensive or fatal epidemic.

In the course of this constitution, cases of sore mouth have been common. Small blisters, ulcers and redness of the tongue, gums and inside of the lips and cheeks, with a bur-

ning sensation in those parts, were the usual symptoms. They were probably produced by such a gentle action of the cause of scarlatina, as was conjectured to produce the sub-maxillary abscesses mentioned by Dr. Rush.

In the treatment of these affections, Dr. Allison, Dr. Sellman and myself pursued nearly the same course. Emetics, calomel, and the bark, with blisters, mercurial frictions, and emollients externally to the throat; and astringent, alkaline, saline and pungent gargarisms, were the remedies generally employed. They were attended with considerable, but not invariable success—a few cases of the angina maligna proving fatal. In the smarting and blistered mouth, Dr. Sellman found magnesia alba a serviceable remedy. He conceived that the contents of the stomach were in a state of morbid acidity, and that the affection of the mouth was thereby aggravated. In a few cases, the stimulating gargle recommended by Dr. Farquhar, was employed, but not with the advantage experienced by him in the West Indies.

For six months past, few or no cases of these diseases have presented themselves.

INFLUENZA. The few remarks which follow, relate entirely to this disease, as it appeared in 1807. Cases of it occurred in town the two or three last days of September; but it was not general before the 5th or 6th of October. On the 29th and 30th of September, a great proportion of a regiment of militia, which was encamped in the open air, about seven miles from town, became affected. The dust and smoke and night air to which they were exposed, probably acted as exciting causes. This disease affected adults chiefly, but not exclusively. In a great number of its subjects, it was so mild as not to require any medicine. Intermittents which were prevalent at the time of its appearance, immediately declined, and it was soon left almost the only disease. During its reign, a sudden diminution of atmospheric temperature effected the supervention of pneumatic inflammation in several persons. These cases as well as many others, were attended with a very redundant secretion and excretion of bilious matter. The pulse was synocha, and they required copious blood-letting, with all the remedies generally employed in bilious pleurisies. In one of these cases, an ague which had left the patient just before the attack of influenza, returned for three successive days: but unequivocal signs of pulmonary inflammation existing, copious blood-letting, blistering and the antiphlogistic regimen were

employed. To this treatment the combination yielded, and abortion was prevented, though the period of gestation had more than half elapsed. But these compound cases were not the only ones in which bloodletting was advantageously employed. Whenever the pulse was excessive, the loss of blood was found to afford great relief. Emetics, cathartics, and febrifuges were likewise employed with considerable advantage. After the excess of morbid action had subsided, and in those who experienced no excess, gentle anodynes and stimulants were found of great service. In some persons a troublesome cough continued for many weeks after the other symptoms of the disease had subsided, and did not appear to be much affected by any of the common remedies for that complaint. It proved fatal to few or none. About the first of November, the disease began to occur more seldom, and was entirely gone by the middle of that month. After its disappearance, the town was very healthy.

The influence of this epidemic on the pulmonary diseases which have preceded it, has been already mentioned.

The equinoctial storms of the ensuing spring were unusually violent, and the temperature was low. Immediately after the equinox, a catarrhal affection, but little inferior to the influenza, in its violence and the numbers that were affected with it, appeared in this town and the adjoining country.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

The ITCH (*Psora*) or cutaneous affections nearly resembling it, are remarkably common in many parts of this country. They are ascribed by some to the water, but the cause of their general prevalence does not yet appear to be ascertained. They are treated by the people, with the different mercurial preparations, and in most cases with success; but sometimes they prove very obstinate. Occasionally these affections are in all probability attended with a scorbutic diathesis.

The *Lepra Grecorum*, now and then presents itself, generating, in its usual manner, immense quantities of large branny scales. I have observed it not to affect, at least in any considerable degree, those parts of the body that are uncovered. Venesection, cathartics, and low diet, with the subsequent and long continued use of mercury or arsenic, will generally effect a cure.

An affection, called by the people, catarrh, or guittar, now and then presents itself. It is a deep seated farunculus

of the joint that connects some one of the fingers with its metacarpel bone. It appears oftenest to attack the ring finger. Stimulating poultices and a free vent for the pus, produce a cure very readily.

A few cases of mortified gums, in children, have been observed. The first that presented itself was attended with a depraved state of the primae viae, and a moderate fever, inclining to the typhoid character. A great variety of astringents and stimulants was applied to the sphacelated parts, without arresting the progress of the disease. At length I discovered that the silver spoon, with which the mouth was examined, was tarnished by the action of an acid, which must necessarily have been the septic. I directed a solution of carbonate of potash, which in a short time produced a cure. The same application has been since made, in similar cases, with corresponding success. Since the occurrence of that case, I have read Dr. Harrison's paper on the diseases of Chillicothe, and find that cases of the same disease have occurred at that place, and were treated by him in the same way, with the best effect.

The Goitre is an endemic of some of the N. E. portions of this state, but it is not known here. The Scrophula, Rickets, and Scurvy, are very rare diseases. Canine madness has not been epidemic for many years, and Hydrophobia has not been observed to occur as a symptom of any of our other diseases. Insanity seldom presents itself; but the protean disease, Hysteria, is frequently met with. Hydrocephalus internus but seldom occurs. Tetanus is rarer still. But one case has occurred here for many years. It was produced by a wound in the hand. It proved fatal in less than three days after the spasms came on; probably from their extending to the muscles of the glottis. Cancers occasionally occur with their usual fatality. Calculus, Arthritis and Apoplexy, are rare diseases. Dropsies are more common, but generally appear only as one of the consequences of intermitting fever.

No bill of mortality has yet been kept in this place.

ERRATUM.—Where "OPHTALMIA" occurs, read OPHTHALMIA.



APPENDIX.

I. "*Columbo Root*."

In different parts of the western country, a bitter root, said to be the officinal columba, has excited considerable attention. In 1805, upon presenting that great botanist, professor Barton, with a specimen of it, he informed me that it was the root of the *Frassera Carolinensis* of Walter; the *Frassera Walteri* of Michaux. I have not been so fortunate as to obtain the works of those botanists, but the authority of the professor is unquestionable. The plant therefore is not a nondescript, as has been said. It however does not appear to be recognized in Turton's edition of the *Systema Naturae*.

It is sometimes found pentandrous, at other times tetrandrous, always monogynous. The stamina are erect, the antherae are deeply cut longitudinally, on both sides, and fixed obliquely. The style is simple, erect, and longer than the corolla, the stigma is somewhat bilobed. The calyx consists, when the plant is tetrandrous of four, when it is pentandrous of five, ovato-lanceolate, permanent leaves. The corolla has 4 or 5 lanceolate petals; with a nectariferous? radiated spot of bristles in the centre of the superior surface of each.* The stem (caulis) is from 2 to 7 feet high, smooth and straight. The cauline leaves are verticillate, glabrous, lanceolate, and from 4 to 8 in number. The radical ones of the same form. The branches are axillary, as numerous as the leaves of the whorl from whence they rise: they incline upwards, and send out opposite, axillary, one-flowered peduncles. The root of the young plant is fusiform and branching, of the old, tuberous and irregular. It is *said* to be triennial: it certainly is not annual. It is chiefly found in thin soils, among oak timber, or in prairies surrounded by that timber. I have never seen it in *fertile woodlands*. It flowers from the 25th of May to the 20th of June.

Every part of the plant is bitter, but the root is generally chosen for medicinal purposes. Dr. J. Canby, and others, inform me, that they have found it, more especially in its recent state, to possess considerable laxative power.

It gives out its bitterness both to aqueous and alcoholic menstrua, but more fully to the latter; the reverse of which

* Whether this be a specific or generic character, I do not know.

II

is the case with the colomba. Its spiritous tincture also suffers decomposition, upon the addition of water, indicating that it contains resin, which the colomba does not. And the addition of decoction, or alcohol of galls, to its watery and spiritous infusion, caused no precipitate of cinchonin, the principal constituent of colomba.

Hence it appears to be essentially distinct from the substance to whose name it probably owes a portion of its reputation. It is, however, a medicine unquestionably entitled to attention,* and will no doubt be found equal, and possibly superior to most of our other indigenous bitters.

II. *New Disease.*

In the spring of 1809, Dr. Barbee, of Virginia, on returning from a visit to the Madriver country, in this state, gave me some information concerning a new and formidable disease which had appeared among the settlers of that tract. Since that time, I have been able to collect several additional facts respecting it, from different persons, more especially Mr. William Snodgrass, and Mr. John M'Kag, two intelligent and respectable inhabitants of that country, who have several times, experienced the disease in their persons and families. A summary of the whole, is here given, that physicians may determine how far it deserves the appellation of a new disease.

It almost invariably commences with general weakness and lassitude, which increase in the most gradual manner. About the same time, or soon after, a dull pain, or rather soreness, begins to affect the calves of the legs, occasionally extending up to the thighs. The appetite becomes rather impaired, and in some cases nearly suspended; sensations of a disagreeable kind affecting the stomach: upon taking a little food, however, a greater disposition for it is generated, and more agreeable feelings are introduced throughout the whole system. Intestinal constipation in this, as in all the subsequent periods of the disease, exists in a very high degree. A strong propensity to sleep occurs, and according to Dr. Barbee, the pulse is "full, frequent, round, and *somewhat* tense, but regular." During this stage, exercise of any kind is highly detrimental, and if persisted in,

* See Barton's Collections and Journal.

soon induces loathing and nausea at the stomach. If the patient repose, upon first experiencing these symptoms, they generally cease, and he is allowed a longer exemption from the *vomiting* that awaits him. Sooner or later, however, that symptom almost invariably succeeds the predisposition we have described, and either proves fatal in 1, 2, 3 or more days, or leaves the patient in a most exhausted state, from which he recovers only to sustain, at no distant period, a repetition of the same attack.

The matter ejected is sometimes bilious, but much oftener sour, and so acrid, that its action on the throat, in one case, (which proved fatal) was likened to that of boiling water. Towards the close of mortal cases, it is occasionally very dark colored so that it has been compared to that very convenient and fashionable object of similitude—coffee-grounds. At this time the intestinal constipation is very great: Mr. Snodgrass knew one patient in whom it continued for 9 days, throughout which he took no food whatever, and vomited during six of them. After such an attack, the propensity for sleep is destroyed, and an uncommon degree of watchfulness is produced. The patient remains languid, and his face and person generally become rather tumid. His skin is cool, palish, and frequently affected with clamminess. He has a disagreeable burning sensation in his stomach, and hot eructations are very troublesome. The thirst is considerable. The breath is peculiarly disgusting, even loathsome. The appetite is generally poor; and the inclination to costiveness remains. These symptoms often continue for several months, during which the patient experiences frequent returns of the vomiting. But at length, more especially upon the approach of winter, they gradually wear away, leaving the patient considerably worse than they found him, and liable to a fresh attack the ensuing summer.

Nothing like *regular* periodical exacerbations is observable in this disease; no chilliness occurs; the color of the skin and eyes does not deviate widely from that of health, and gives no striking indication of bile; there is no pain in the region of the liver, nor in the shoulder; it does not terminate in dropsy; nor are there any symptoms which bespeak it a disguised or anomalous intermittent. It however prevails (though not exclusively) in aguish situations, and intermitting diseases are thought to have declined since its appearance.

It affects all ages, conditions, and both sexes, indiscriminately; except probably very young children. They how-

IV

ever are not wholly exempt from it. Emigrants are not peculiarly liable to it. It was first observed in the summer of 1806, and is thought annually to extend its geographical range, and to become more intense. It sometimes commences in July or before, but oftener in August, and continues till the approach of winter, when it generally, but not always subsides.

The cure of this disease seems hitherto to have been left chiefly to the people, who have not yet discovered any certain method. Purging was a remedy that naturally suggested itself; and by some it has been thought very serviceable, more especially when effected by aloes; but others assert that they have frequently known a cathartic to increase the vomiting, and therefore rely more on enemata. All agree however, that the intestinal obstructions are to be overcome; and that the less the means made use of, affect the stomach, the better. Vomits evidently do harm. Blisters to the gastric region are considered the most efficient remedy. Tonics have been used, but no great benefit appeared to arise from them. Wine and salted meats, however, have appeared to do good, and are relished beyond any thing else. Indeed, eating a little frequently, whether an inclination exist or not, has been found a good palliative: It relieves the stomach from the gnawing which so perpetually exists. Alkaline lye has been used in one case: it gave some temporary relief, but not more than almost any other substance which might be received into the stomach. Bleeding has occasionally been resorted to, but with doubtful advantage. Ardent spirit appears to render the disease worse: It is not however, much sought after, all inclination for it, generally being destroyed. Tea and coffee, also, with several other articles of diet, which were agreeable before the disease, are in many cases disliked for a long time after.

This disease is unequivocally observed to affect four domestic animals: the horse, the cow, the sheep, and the dog. It is often fatal to the two former; but not so fatal to the latter. It as frequently attacks horses in the winter as summer, and sometimes kills them in 24 hours.

It prevails chiefly in the neighborhood of Staunton on the Great Miami, and in the country south of Maderiver, between Dayton and Springfield. In those tracts, ponds and marshes occasionally occur, more especially in the former. The soil and water are calcareous. The timber generally oak.

Selections from the Torrence Papers, IV

THE POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CAREER OF WILLIAM HENRY
HARRISON FROM 1830 TO 1841, AS ILLUSTRATED
BY THE FINDLAY LETTERS.

FOREWORD.

The present number of this QUARTERLY continues the letters published in *Volume II, No. 3*. Although the main subject mentioned in these letters is the varying political fortune of General Harrison, yet many of the earlier letters touch upon intimate personal and family matters, while the later ones are chiefly concerned with the hopes of would-be office-holders or their friends and relatives—hopes which, unfortunately for them, his early death rendered void. The chief purpose in publishing many of these letters is to show that distressing financial and family complications did not destroy General Harrison's "availability" as a presidential candidate; nor did this same quality protect him and the inmates of his household from the importunities of those who felt the force or were influenced by the example of the spoils system established under his immediate predecessors.

The career of few individuals in American politics exhibits a greater contrast than does that of General Harrison, as shown by the first ten of the following letters and by the next seven. And this contrast is all the more marked when one peruses those that close the list. From the depths of misfortune, for which he personally is not responsible, to the highest office within the gift of the American people, constitutes a step that far more talented men were unable to take. Although he evinced no great genius to match his remarkable success, his career exhibits a series of important duties, well done if not brilliantly executed, while his sterling integrity and homely sense of honor deepen the popular impression of regret caused by his unexpected demise.

In the preparation of this material I have profited from the assistance of Miss L. Belle Hamlin and Mr. Earl F. Colburn, to whom I gladly make this acknowledgment.

I. J. C.

68

CONTENTS.

- I. Feb. 24, 1830, E. HULSE TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- II. Apr. 25, 1830, LEWIS WHITEMAN TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.
- III. May 16, 1830, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- IV. Dec. 7, 1830, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- V. Mar. 21, 1832, W. H. HARRISON, JR., TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- VI. May 22, 1832, W. H. HARRISON, JR., TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- VII. July 4, 1832, W. H. HARRISON, JR., TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- VIII. Dec. 2, 1832, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- IX. June 18, 1833, W. H. HARRISON, JR., TO JAMES FINDLAY.
- X. June 13, 1834, W. H. HARRISON, JR., TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- XI. Sept. 3, 1835, SAMUEL B. FINDLAY TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- XII. Sept. 12, 1835, G. B. TREVOR TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- XIII. Nov. 3, 1836, WILLIAM L. MILLER TO [JAMES K. FINDLAY?].
- XIV. June 4, 1838, SAMUEL EVANS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- XV. Feb. 24, 1840, G. W. JONES TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- XVI. Aug. 4, 1840, D. TORRENCE TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- XVII. Oct. 17, 1840, SAMUEL EVANS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
- XVIII. Mar. 15, 1841, MRS. JANE CATH. WEVER TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.
- XIX. Mar. 25, 1841, J. K. FINDLAY TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.
- XX. April 3, 1841, ELIZA M. LEWIS TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.
- XXI. April 4, 1841, THOMAS B. VAN HORNE TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.
- XXII. April 7, 1841, JAMES R. BUTLER TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.
- XXIII. April 8, 1841, WILLIAM FINDLAY TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.
- XXIV. Oct. 22, 1841, JAMES FINDLAY HARRISON TO MRS. JAMES FINDLAY.
- XXV. July 8, 1841, THE FUNERAL OBSEQUIES OF PRESIDENT HARRISON.

I.

E. HULSE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 11, No. 61.]

CINCINNATI, FEBY. 24, 1830.

GEN[ERA]L FINDLAY,

Sir,—I wish to apprise you of the movements in this section of our country in regard to politics.

At this time much is said about the recent trial in Congress to enquire into the expediency of altering the Tariff¹ and all parties appear to be well pleased with the course pursued by our Delegation on that subject. But Sir much is said concerning our next Congressman. Who he shall be? R. T. Lytle, J. S. Benham, and N. G. Pendleton² are all talked of, but We find opinions are various as faces on that subject and believing you to be the person Who Will unite the greatest number of Electors We have Dared to state that if Gen[era]l Findlay Was elected he Would again serve.³ Now We wish you to answer this Communication Immediately, and if it meets with your approbation We shall be pleased and as far as We can at this time Discover Shall meet with success.

You may think perhaps we are premature, but all parties appear to be on the alert, and procrastination is always Dangerous. Therefore have adopted this policy, We believing it best.

General Harrison is spoken of as our next Governor⁴ and Will probably, if he should think proper to run, be elected as certainly he

¹ Cf. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VI, 37-40.

² For Lytle and Benham Cf. *Quarterly* II, 10, 28-29. N. G. Pendleton had previously served as aid-de-camp to Governor Jeremiah Morrow, had been a candidate for the State Legislature, and was later a member of Congress. Cf. "*The Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly*," IX, 131; X, 318, 332.

³ James Findlay was re-elected this year, but by a narrow plurality over Benham, receiving fewer votes in the city than his opponent. Cf. *Niles' Register*, XXXIX, 138.

⁴ In December of this same year Morgan Neville writes (*Quarterly* II, 261) that "Harrison is coming out for the Senate heavy. If both parties are in doubt as to their superiority, he may succeed. I have just written a sketch of his life, but I doubt the propriety of his publishing it." In *Niles' Register* (XXXIX, 187), he is reported as one of the four persons who are candidates for the Senate from Ohio. Financial difficulties, coupled with distressing family complications, effectually stemmed any political ambition for the next few years.

will obtain the votes in this part of the State. I have no News. We enjoy good health (here) and (in) the country in our vicinity; please answer this as soon as convenient, and believe me yours, with the greatest Esteem

II.

LEWIS WHITEMAN TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 27, No. 16.]

CINCINNATI, APRIL 25, 1830.

.....

General Harrison and herself [Jane Findlay Harrison] came up on a steamboat, on Tuesday last and remained with us until Thursday. William arrived the same day on horseback.

The object of the General's visit was to make arrangements with his creditors, and as far as possible to relieve himself from embarrassment, and also to satisfy William's creditors. The latter object seems to interest him much more than the former. I do hope he will have it in his power to do both, and the General himself is highly flattered with his prospect of accomplishing both objects, without great difficulty. He is however of a sanguine temperament, and what would, to most men, seem insurmountable difficulties, that they would yield [to] and sink under, would to the General, be disposed of very easily.

It may be considered a happy circumstance that he is possessed of this disposition. Were it the reverse, he could not be otherwise than miserably unhappy.⁵ The general came up yesterday, on business, and has just left for home. I presume he will return in a few days, as his friends are about getting up a Public Dinner⁶ for him. I mean his personal not political friends, for I understand there are as many Jacksonian contributors, as of any other faith.

⁵ Mrs. Scott Harrison had died a few months before (Box 27, No. 13): and his son William was just recovering from a serious illness brought on by his unfortunate personal habits (Box 27, No. 2). Moreover this son was planning against his father's wishes to abandon the legal profession.

⁶ On the same day L. Whiteman had already written (Box 27, No. 13) that "a public dinner to General Harrison is in agitation and I hope it will be given. To him it would *at any time* be gratifying—at this time peculiarly so." Later Mr. Whiteman writes on May 10 that "The citizens of this place [Cincinnati] gave General Harrison a dinner last week—all went off well The General had good reason to be pleased." Harrison had already published a pamphlet, summarized in *Niles' Register* XXXVIII, 121, defending his course in Columbia; and in August, at a dinner given in his honor, at Madison, Indiana, repeated portions of this defense and touched upon the political issues of the day. The society has a copy of this pamphlet.

III.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 57.]

NORTH BEND, 16TH MAY, 1830.

Dear Gen[era]l.

I am fearful that y[ou]r House will find so much to occupy it of a more important character that my little bill⁷ will be passed over—a circumstance productive of much inconvenience to me. I have written to Messrs McDuffie and Archer⁸ desiring them to get my claim tacked on to another bill so that it may be passed. I wish you to attend to it. Speak to Colo[nel] Johnson [?] and Mr. Carson of North Carolina. They will give their aid most willingly. If it gets through the House put my friends in the Senate upon the alert also. The family is in tolerable health. William is quite well. My respects to Mrs. Findlay.

IV.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 59.]

NORTHBEND, 7TH DECR., 1830.

Dear General

The morning that I left you I barely got down [in] time enough to see my beloved son⁹ expire. It almost broke my heart. And never did a house exhibit a scene of greater distress. Never was a man taken away whose life was more necessary to his family. Mother and Daughter both in bad health and of the six orphan children, four ill. They are now all very much better but with that exception, their circumstances present a worse appearance than they did at the time of

⁷ Possibly this "little bill," was his account of return expenses from Colombia. He had expected to return in the public vessel that conveyed his Jacksonian successor, Moore, to the field of his mission, but through some misunderstanding, he had to return at his own expense.

⁸ George McDuffie, member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina; William Archer was from Virginia.

⁹ His oldest son John Cleves Symmes Harrison, born in 1798. Cf. *Quarterly* II, 108. At the time of his death he was evidently living with his mother-in-law, Mrs. Z. M. Pike, in Boone County, Kentucky. Cf. also Box 10, No. 10.

Symmes' death. The suit for the whole property (Mrs. Pike's¹⁰) was not determined in consequence of the resignation of the Judge but as he had the case under advisement and had sufficient time to make up his opinion I fear his not doing it proceeded from an unwillingness to decide against Mrs. Pike. If the decision should be adverse to her, as they have, you know, not another friend in the world to afford them existence, their future support must be derived from me. It is however not the trouble or the expense which I fear but the apprehension that my utmost exertions to provide for the great number which are dependent upon me will be ineffectual. I was ruminating on this subject the day before yesterday when I was served with a summons to answer at Columbus *within the present month* to a claim of the U[nited] S[tates] against me as security of my second son of \$12,-803⁶⁸/₁₀₀. I suppose an other is gone to Vincennes or to the Marshal of Kentucky to be served upon his representatives. The above sum is the supposed amount of his defalcation. I saw a statement of the am[oun]t last Spring taken from the books of the Treasury; it was then about \$10000 and a credit was added of about \$2000 for a subsequent deposit. So that it appears that they have not only refused to allow the items claimed by Symmes—one of which Mr. Graham¹¹ told me was established to his satisfaction, but they must have disallowed some that had been passed. After reflecting upon the subject I have determined that it will be proper for the widow to petition Congress to be allowed those rejected items and for relief generally. Surely the Representatives of this just and generous Nation will listen with favor to the petition of the only child¹² of their favorite hero who after a life devoted to their service shed his last drop of blood in the defence of their rights, but who left to his orphan no inheritance but his claim upon his country's gratitude. I recollect that after the defeat of my bill for extending the pensions in the year 1818¹³ several

¹⁰ Widow of General Zebulon Montgomery Pike, and daughter of Senator John Brown of Kentucky. Concerning her Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison, wife of W. H. Harrison, Jr., writes (Box 10, No. 10): "Poor Mrs. Pike, how I do pity her. She has all the care of the family and having no one to attend to her negroes they give her a good deal of trouble."

¹¹ George Graham, of Virginia, then Commissioner of the General Land Office.

¹² This was General Pike's daughter, Clarissa, who had married J. C. S. Harrison. Of her Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison writes: "Clarissa appears better since his death. I am in hopes it will arouse her to attend to her house and family."

¹³ For House debate with Harrison's speech on this occasion Cf. *Annals 15th Cong., 2nd Sess.*, Vol. I, pp. 376-387, 393-397. The bill passed the House, but

members who opposed the bill wished me to bring in one for the relief of Mrs. Pike alone, but I would not. And last spring one of the Georgia members told me that his State would sanction almost anything for the benefit of Pike's representatives. I will forward the petition on Friday to Colonel [Richard M.] Johnson because I know he will undertake it willingly and because Symmes was one of his constituents when he died. There is considerable difficulty in drawing the petition because I do not know the items which Symmes claimed and which were rejected. We shall therefore have to refer to a copy of his account to be procured from the Commissioner's office. I have written to Mr. Hendricks¹⁴ and requested him to go with you to procure it and have it ready against the arrival of the petition which will not be longer than two days behind this letter. Unless the petition is presented soon the bill will not have time to get through before next session and ruin will come upon the whole family, for at a forced sale it will take all that we are worth to pay the am[oun]t now claimed. Perhaps a suggestion from you and Colo[nel] Johnson might induce Mr. Ingham¹⁵ to stop the suit until it was ascertained whether Congress would do anything or not. I could not ask such a favour after the harshness of his late proceedings against me. Inconvenient as it is for me to leave home I am determined to go on to Washington in two or three weeks.¹⁶ We are all as well as usual Clarissa and myself (with Jane)¹⁷ went to Boone Court yesterday and administered upon Symmes estate.

failed in the Senate. Under the date of December 16, 1818, Harrison himself wrote concerning it (Box 10, No. 55), "The bill for continuing for five years longer the pensions granted to the widows and orphans of the officers of the regular army and the officers and soldiers of the militia, who died or were killed in the late war, passed this House yesterday by a majority of three. We had a long and pretty warm debate on the subject."

¹⁴ William Hendricks, Senator from Indiana.

¹⁵ Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, then Secretary of the Treasury.

¹⁶ Under date of January 1, 1831, Lewis Whiteman writes to James Findlay (Box 27, No. 18), "General Harrison is in town and I understand is to leave to-day for Washington per steamboat. Business of his deceased son Symmes, I understand, takes him to Washington."

¹⁷ Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison, wife of his second son, William Henry Harrison, Jr. She was the niece of Mrs. James Findlay, and afterwards acted as mistress of the White House during her father-in-law's brief residence there.

W. H. HARRISON, JUNIOR, TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 25.]

NORTH BEND, MARCH 21ST, 1832.

My d[ea]r General,

You know us all too well not to know how sincerely we sympathized with you in your late affliction, and how fervently we prayed for your recovery. It was indeed to some of us a mournful period; you we well knew were lying dangerously ill, and my father has been for a long time also dangerously ill.¹⁸ He has thank God so far recovered to be able to ride out and is rapidly recovering his strength and spirits. The illness of the two best friends of my family and myself was calculated to make us all feel as unhappy as we well could be.

You have seen some accounts of the disasters and misfortunes brought upon us by the late floods. All the fences and a great many of the houses on the lower bottoms of the Ohio and Miami Rivers were swept away. It was about four feet higher than the flood of 1815, and Judge Watson says, three feet higher than the flood of 1793.¹⁹ All of us who own lands on the margin of the Ohio are busily engaged in rebuilding our fences. I have mine nearly completed. My father will have his done in ten days or two weeks. Mr. Short *swears* he will move to the top of the Andes or take refuge in Noah's Ark or the summit of *Mount Arrarat*. Jestings aside the River really looked like a Mediterranean sea. None of us, thank God, were drowned, but the loss of property, the injury to dwellings, the necessity of thousands of people being compelled to fly to their higher neighbors, produced a scene of misery and devastation, the like of which I never wish to see again. Scott²⁰ has not yet returned from New Orleans. He started when the flood was at its height. Mrs. Sloo and Nancy Torrence²¹ will we think return with him.

¹⁸ The letters of Lewis Whiteman (Box 27, Nos. 25 and 26) also mention the illness of General Harrison.

¹⁹ For an account of these floods, Cf. Greve; *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 343, 586.

²⁰ His younger brother John Scott Harrison.

²¹ Wife of Thomas Sloo, Jr., of Shawneetown, Ill.; Nancy Torrence was the daughter of George P. Torrence and was returning from a visit to New Orleans. Mrs. Rebecca Findlay Sloo was the daughter of John Findlay of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and sister of Mrs. George P. Torrence.

VI.

W. H. HARRISON, JUNIOR, TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 26.]

CINCINNATI, MAY 22ND, 1832.

My dear General,

I found the enclosed letter in the post-office on my arrival in town. You will please give it to my father, or in case he has left the city forward where you think he will receive it. I suppose he requested Scott to send it to him, and that he had left here before its arrival. It is a letter from Gov[enor] Cass notifying him of his appointment²² etc. Please inform my father that in obedience to his request I am very busily engaged in the memorial he wishes to present to the Bank Directors at Phila[delphia].²³ My family are all well. The boys as well as their Papa and Mama, look anxiously for the return of their d[ea]r Uncle and Aunt. We have no news—the weather is cold, the crops of corn remarkably backward. Many fields have been replanted, and if we have not more favourable weather shortly, the second planting will rot. Old Mrs. Bailey, the mother of Andrew, died a few days ago. Give my love to Mrs. Findlay and receive for yourself the assurances of my filial attachment.

W. H. Harrison, Jr.

Genl Findlay.

P. S. The *reign of terror*²⁴ seems really to have commenced at Washington. Shall I forward on to you your *sabre* and *pistols*. If necessary I will use them for you! W. H. H. jr.

²² Cass as Secretary of War had appointed Harrison on the annual board of visitors to West Point.

²³ This was in reference to the matter mentioned on page 78. About a month later he writes Mrs. Findlay (Box 10, No. 27) stating that they had received no word about General Harrison's health and expressing solicitude about his health which was precarious when he left Cincinnati.

²⁴ Possibly a reference to the tariff discussion and the ensuing nullification movement. Cf. Niles XLII, *passim*.

VII.

W. H. HARRISON, JUNIOR, TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 28.]

NORTH BEND, JULY 4TH, 1832.

My d[ea]r General,

I received by the last mail your favour of the 24th ult[i]mo. I need not assure you how sincerely glad we all were to hear of the improvement of *your* health, and that our d[ea]r Aunt had kept up both health and spirits, during your long indisposition. God knows, that with the exception of my father, mother and wife, there are no two elderly persons to whom I am so sincerely and affectionately attached. * * * * * My mother and the rest who are on the sick list, are off the doctor's roll. Will not the dread of cholera induce Congress to adjourn, even if the Tariff and the Bank Questions are not disposed of? Apropos of cholera—I have just had an elegant bath-house erected in the small building that you know stood near our dwelling house. Will not this be as beneficial for you as the mountains of Pennsylvania or Virginia? Since I wrote to Mrs. Findlay we have had no rain, the prospect is really gloomy. With one exception I have not seen a single field of corn higher than a man's knee. You know at this time it is generally as high as a man's head. We have a parched earth and a brazen sky. What is to become of us, God only knows. The Farmers are in despair; our only resource for stock will be in the hay, which is generally light, and for man's food, we must look to our wheat, which is generally good.²⁵ I am afraid our Jackson friends (the hogs) will share badly this season. Our friend Co[lone]l W[illia]m Clark²⁶ of White Water Township, died the day before yesterday. He was truly an honest and worthy man. His friend and neighbour old Isaac Swearengen died a few weeks before him.

Is there any probability of an amicable adjustment of the Tariff? I am really apprehensive of the issue—not on my own account but on that of my children. Born and raised a freeman, and my ancestors having contributed freely, and risked much to gain, maintain, and support our happy government, I feel an indignation I cannot express

²⁵ Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison wrote a few days afterwards, "We will expect Pa (General Harrison) the last of this week—his presence is very much needed.

²⁶ Not the companion of Meriwether Lewis in the famous trip across the continent. Cf. Coues; *History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, I, LXXXIX.

against those who are for raising the standard of *Nullification*, which I consider a decent term for rebellion and treason. Should the South really rebel—I will thank you to recommend me to the President as a fit and proper person to command a Regiment of volunteers from this part of the country. I will guarantee that in one month from the time we march, I will ride through the streets of Charleston.²⁷

I have spent this 4th of July like a gentlemen, making hay. Please remember me in the warmest terms to my friend Corwin.²⁸ Give my love to Mrs. Findlay and believe me

D[ea]r Gen[era]l y[ou]rs affectionately,

W. H. Harrison, Jr.

P. S.—Would it not be a good provision in the Bank Charter, that they should not withdraw any Branch without a year's notice? You know how you and other friends were treated by the old Branch in Cincinnati.²⁹

W. H. H. Jr.

5th July—My mother rec[eive]d today a letter from my father of the 24th of last month from Phila[delphia]. I suppose he is about this time with you.

VIII.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 62.]

NORTH BEND 2ND DECR, 1832.

Dear General,

My Nephew, Benjamin Harrison, came to visit me some time ago and left a gold sleeve button which is herewith enclosed. Will you have the goodness to reinclose it directed to B. H. of Berkeley to the office at Charles City Court house, V[irgini]a.

I am sorry to tell you that there is no hope of William's³⁰ reformation if he remains here, and I know of no place where he could be

²⁷ This is certainly bombastic in tone, when one considers the writer, and that his grandfather, Benjamin Harrison had opposed the adoption of the constitution; but it is doubtless typical of western sentiment at that time. Cf. Tyler, *Patrick Henry*, 319, 320, 323.

²⁸ Thomas Corwin, of Lebanon, then serving in the lower house of Congress from Ohio.

²⁹ For conditions in Ohio during the panic of 1819, Cf. McMaster IV, 487, 488.

³⁰ The General's second son, William Henry Harrison Jr., (1802-1838). The latter's wife writes [Box 10, No. 13] that financial troubles partially account for his lack of self-control. Her brother I. R. Irwin, some three years before had written

out of the reach of the temptation but in one of our remote posts on the frontiers. I think I could prevail on him to go to one of them and remain ten or twelve months. I would sell anything I have to raise the money for his journey. Will you procure and send me a list of the officers who command the posts on the waters of the upper Mississippi so that I may select one to whom I am either known or can procure an introduction to and I would accompany him to St. Louis.

To the distress produced by the destruction of my hopes in relation to two of my sons, is added that of encreasingly embarrassed circumstances. Scotts³¹ exertions and my own were barely sufficient to maintain the great number who are dependent upon us. We have done a good deal this year with the farm considering the injury we sustained from the high water of the Spring but still we fall behindhand. Scott went up to pay our taxes for the present year last friday but the money he took with him for the purpose was not sufficient and we are at our wits end to find the means of raising it without going into the hands of the usurer and I believe it cannot be got of them at less than the rate of 50 percentum per annum. I borrowed \$220 of one of them when I went on to Westpoint in May³² and altho I pay the interest regularly (3 per cent a month) he is clamor-

to James Findlay, who had married his aunt, "I had heard through Uncle James Ramsey the cheering hopes of William's recovery, not only in health, but from a habit more loathsome than infectious disease, and my heart beat with a joy it has not known before since I heard of his aberration. It seemed to me so hard that my darling sister on her first starting through life should have her prospects so sadly marred by one so closely bound to her; and by an indulgence in habits that are as disgusting to me as infamy. I hope it may all be well." Young Harrison was a graduate of Transylvania University, and really seems to have been a talented man with excellent prospects of success as a lawyer and public speaker. In 1830 he was anxious to become prosecuting attorney for the County, [Cf. Box 10, No. 10] but his weakness forced him to abandon the profession and take up farming, but without avail. Five years later a visitor reports no improvement in his condition [Box 27, No. 40] and in 1838 the inevitable end came. His widow was the mistress of the White House during General Harrison's brief term, and later married Lewis Whiteman.

³¹ John Scott Harrison, his third son, afterwards a member of the House of Representatives and father of President Benjamin Harrison.

³² General Harrison was appointed by the Secretary of War, General Lewis Cass, one of the board of visitors to West Point. Despite the uncertain state of his health he accepted the honor because it gave him the opportunity to present to the Bank directors in Philadelphia *his side of the claim mentioned below*. Cf. Box 10, Nos. 27 and 60.

ous for the principal. I never felt so much dispondency in all my life as I have for the last three months.

When I made the sale of the bottom at the mouth of the Miami to the Hayes³³ I thought it would be sufficient to clear me out of the bank at least but I was obliged to pay so much of the proceeds for William's debts and some others of my own and the debt which I have to pay for was so much larger than I had expected that it was exhausted, there remains a balance of debt of \$6,000 which I am to provide for and God knows how. I have sold all my land in sections 2 and 3 to pay the Gilmores and there is a balance still due them.

That Scoundrel will not advance a dollar to pay his own debt and laughs at the suit I have commenced against him—being prepared to swear that he is not worth a cent when it is well known that he is doing a most profitable business. I am engaged day and night in forming schemes to extend our business so as to equal our wants but it cannot be done without capital—and that we cannot get. I know of nothing that would be more likely to succeed than the manufacture of Kiln dried Indian Meal. We commenced the drying apparatus last Spring. But water is so scant in Indian creek (more so I believe than formerly) that I concluded not to go to the expense of repairing the old Water Mill. My intention is to convert the Stone distillery into a steam mill as soon as I can get the means of purchasing a small engine sufficient for one pair of stones and having everything but the engine when I can get that we can soon get to work. The crops of corn are very light throughout this whole region. At least one fourth of all that is gathered is too soft to keep.

But this is a partial evil compared to the prospects which our political situation presents. In this your last session you will have perhaps to decide upon questions of a character more momentous than any that have been presented to the body of which you are a member.

³³ On December 28, 1830, Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison had written [Box 10, No. 10] "Papa has determined to sell the point—at least the part which lies in Indiana. He is to receive \$21,000 for it—this will relieve him entirely and enable him to relieve William also." In this hope he seems to have been disappointed, for on December first, 1832 she writes concerning her husband: "His father, it seems, can do nothing for him and wishes him to sell his farm. Money is so scarce he probably cannot get a good price, but I am so anxious to see him free that I can agree to part with anything we have to accomplish it."

I am a "looker on" but "a looker on" bitten with intense interest produced by no desire to promote the success of any party line, from the desire to preserve unimpaired the institutions under which we have so long flourished.³⁴

When you meet with our friend, Gen[era]l Cass tell him that I congratulate him upon the termination of his Indian War.³⁵ It was accomplished with means much less powerful than I should have deemed sufficient for the purpose.

IX.

W. H. HARRISON, JUNIOR, TO JAMES FINDLAY.
[Box 10, No. 30.]

NORTH BEND, JUNE 18, 1833.

My d[ea]r General,

I send up a letter from John from my father to Mr. Webster.³⁶ I was to have taken it but I have given up going. I will thank you to give it to Mr. Webster and inform my father by Mr. Payne, who drives up the carriage, what day he can come down. My father wishes you, Judge Burnet, Mr. Este, and Mr. Leroy to accompany him. He wishes you to come on Wednesday next, but would prefer Thursday, if it will suit you and the gentlemen.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. Harrison, Jr.

P. S. You will of course be expected to dinner the day they come.

³⁴ The reference probably is to the Nullification movement in South Carolina. On Feb. 16, 1833, his son William writes [Box 10, No. 29]: "I hope the General [Findlay] will be able to keep his temper and health, during these times of *Nullification* and bombarding from *valourous* sons of South Carolina. I hope, if his division is called out, he will kindly remember a disbanded *veteran* who is residing upon his *estates* about 15 miles below Cincinnati and whose name will be found at the foot of this Epistle."

³⁵ The Black Hawk War.

³⁶ Webster was then engaged in a tour of the western states, as his biographer Lodge states, "with the terrible prize of the presidency . . . again before his eyes." Cf. *Niles Register*, XLIV, *passim*. For Este and Burnet Cf. *Quarterly* II, 10, 101, 105, 117.

X.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON JR. TO GEORGE P.
TORRENCE.

[Box 10, No. 31.]

NORTH BEND, JUNE 13TH, 1834.

Dear Judge,

I believe I write to you for the first time in my life ; we have frequently quarreled *viva voce*, shall we have a quarrel on paper about politicks? for politicks are "the subject of *my story*." My father having been requested to be a candidate for congress is unable to give a decided answer until in some way or other the sense of the opponents of the administration can be ascertained in a way most likely to enable them to come to a just conclusion as to which of the gentlemen named by the opponents of the adm[inistratio]n stands the best chance of success. Neither my father [n]or his friends wish to forestall public opinion by sending as Brother has *couriers* through the country to trump up small meetings and then *a la mode* Jacksonians say "at large and respectable meetings" etc., was nominated. After Coombs with two aid-de-camps has been through this part of the county to fix upon their fogle-men, their success has not been very flattering so far. The opponents of the adm[inistratio]n, the lukewarm Jacksonians—all indeed who are in opposition to Jackson or Lucas³⁷ wish a fair expression of the sentiments of the party for the purpose of beating the Jackson candidate for Congress, and Lucas for Gov[ernor].

The two questions are inseparably connected. The person who votes for Lucas will vote for the Jackson candidate for congress and *vice versa*. Mr. movements can only tend to distract the party. Judge Watson told me a few minutes since that we stood a good chance of succeeding if we brought but one candidate in the field—if more we must be beat. The sudden revulsion in public feeling against the acts of the executive has doubtless been the reason why is a candidate. Why was he not a candidate when a majority of the county was against us? He an untried colt on the political turf could have been beaten without any regret or mortification. To gratify the wishes of the party my father consented to run and was left out.³⁸ Mr. was requested to be a candidate

³⁷ General Robert Lucas was then serving as governor of the state and was re-elected over James Findlay in the ensuing election.

³⁸ This was in 1822 when he was beaten by James W. Gazley.

but—the “signs of the times” did not suit And those who had character and age and reputation had to stand the brunt of a violent political contest to enable the party to whom they belonged to make *show of fight*, whilst those who stood in the background at that time wish now to attain political preferment by movements characterized by as much cunning as Atlanta in dropping her golden balls. I wish you would write me fully and freely on the subject.³⁹
.

XI.

SAMUEL B. FINDLAY TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 7, No. 3.]

PHILADELPHIA, SEP. 3, [1835].

GEO. P. TORRENCE ESQR.

Dear Sir: Now for politics. I find there is a very strong interest for the old Gen[era]l in this state⁴⁰ and Maryland. If things

³⁹ Evidently the prospects did not appeal to General Harrison and his supporters, for Bellamy Storer became the candidate of the anti-Jackson forces and was elected. About this time the General became Clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas of Hamilton County—an office he retained until his election to the presidency, although the details of the office work were performed by his son-in-law W. H. H. Taylor, who was likewise a cousin of his wife. This appointment evidently eased the financial burdens under which General Harrison had been sinking. (Cf. *Manuscript Journal* of General James Taylor, a copy of which is in possession of Colonel Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, Ky.) A letter from Bellamy Storer to George P. Torrence, (Box 22, No. 29) written shortly before the election of 1840, shows that Harrison was not wholly relieved from minor financial annoyances. That his improved circumstances did, however, react upon his health, even if domestic affairs did not brighten, is shown by a letter from Lewis Whiteman, dated August 7, 1837 (Box 27, No. 40): “The General was in fine spirits and very soon walked me over the most abrupt hills on his farm.”

⁴⁰ Early in 1835 *Niles Register* reports that General Harrison “is much spoken of in some parts of Pennsylvania as a proper person as candidate for President of the United States.” A renewal of attacks upon his military reputation had preceded this (Cf. Box 10, No. 73, and attempts were made by the Democratic press to bring forward Colonel Richard M. Johnson as an opposition hero. Despite these efforts Harrison was nominated for President by a public meeting of the citizens of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, but the former friendship between himself and Colonel Johnson seems to have been broken. (*Niles Register* XLVII, 379). In Maryland his name was joined with that of Tyler. At a New York meeting Mr. Madison’s opinion on the importance of the battle of Tippecanoe was used to extol the “Old Hero,” who now begins to exhibit some traces of General Jackson’s former prestige. An attempt to get Harrison to run as vice-president on the ticket with Webster failed. Brief journeys of Harri-

are managed properly I have no doubt he will be the candidate of the opposition in this State and Uncle Tho[mas] thinks he is the most popular in M[arylan]d and after the Gen[era]l elections they will begin to move. You have no doubt seen that they are beginning to make a stir in N[ew] York⁴¹ and that they are to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of the Thames and invite the Gen[era]l to be present; it is the opinion of some of his friends that he ought not to attend that it would probably have an unfavorable impression.

The politics of this state in relation to Gov[ernor] is all out of joint. It is probable Ritner⁴² will be elected. Some of the whigs who will vote for Wolf⁴³ say if Ritner should be elected, it will tend to unite the *Jackson* or Democratic party upon Van Buren; and the Whigs say there are some who will vote for Muhlie;⁴⁴ say if he be

son along the Ohio River aroused an enthusiasm comparable to that which greeted LaFayette. Indeed, in his speeches the General distinctly assumes the reminiscent vein, with an evident desire to affect the LaFayette pose as well as to avoid dangerous political issues. His course was sufficiently successful to call from the "Globe" the stinging characterization of "General Harrison, the recruiting sergeant for the coalition in Ohio." The Antimason convention of Pennsylvania, in December 1835, despite the opposition of the radicals formally nominated him with Granger of New York as his running mate. Cf. *Report of Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1902. Vol. I, 480.

⁴¹ In September Harrison was nominated at Albany, N. Y., by a mass meeting of more than a thousand persons (*Niles* XLIX, 36). The dinner in question, without the General, was held at Niblo's Garden, in N. Y. City, on October 5th (*Ibid*, 133), but the Democrats, not to be outdone, celebrated the occasion by a dinner to Richard M. Johnson, the prospective administration candidate for vice-president, who indirectly attacked his opponent for refusing to declare himself on public questions. The controversy over the real credit for the battle raged so bitterly that Harrison was induced to publish a letter in his own defense. Whereupon the *Richmond Enquirer* quotes (*Niles* XLIX, 141): "He does justice to everyone except Harrison, and the world must therefore do justice to the man who is too modest to be just to himself," and adds, "General Harrison's character has never been paid a finer compliment." On February 22, 1836, he was nominated for President by an Ohio Convention.

⁴² Joseph Ritner was nominated by the Antimasons, with whom the Whigs were in alliance. Ritner was elected by an overwhelming majority.

⁴³ George Wolf, a Jackson Democrat, was then Governor of the State and a candidate for re-election, but had alienated many of his supporters by favoring an extensive canal policy, a public school system, and by opposing the second United States Bank. Moreover, *his friends* were supposed to be opposed to Van Buren.

⁴⁴ So strong were the opposing factions that when, at the State Convention held in March, 1835, Wolf was renominated, they withdrew and nominated Henry A. Muhlenberg, a former minister, and one of the greatest preachers of Pennsylvania. Jackson endeavored to have Muhlenberg withdraw, but in vain. This faction attempted to win over the German Antimasonic vote but failed, although aided by Richard Rush.

elected the Wolf men would desert Van Buren. And Ritner men say, elect him and the state is safe for the opposition and that Genl Harrison is the man to beat Van in this state.

XII.

G. B. TREVOR TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 26, No. 54.]

PHILADELPHIA SEP. 12, 1835.

Dear Sir,

The manner in which Gen[era]l Harrison appears to be making headway in thro the Keystone State is very similar to that in which Gen[era]l Jackson's popularity commenced. Neither the political leaders nor the newspapers appear to be as yet much in his favor but to any person who watches the current of public opinion, it must be very evident that a strong tide is setting in his favor among the great body of the people. I consider him at present, to use a familiar phrase, decidedly the "most available" candidate to defeat Mr. Van Buren and as I am opposed *toto coelo* to the men and measures of the present administration, and to the designated successor, I shall espouse the cause of that man who in my view is likely to defeat the heir apparent. For my own part to be candid about the matter I should prefer Henry Clay to any man in the nation, but as he seems at present to be out of the question, I go distinctly for Gen[era]l Harrison. In the next contest for Governor in this State the Whigs will be victorious. They will elect Ritner by a large majority,⁴⁵ and after that is accomplished, we shall hold meeting here and in the large towns in Penn[sylvani]a to take up Harrison for the Presidency. That we can carry him in Pennsylvani aagainst Van Buren I will not permit myself to doubt. To accomplish this object however we must avail ourselves of all the means within our reach. A thought has occurred to me that it would be a good hit at present to get a plate engraved representing the Battle of Tippecanoe, and in conversation with an engraver upon the subject he coincided entirely in my views, and is willing and desires to undertake it. He is an artist of skill and talent and a politician withal—and he will recollect (?) the effect produced by the engraving and circulation of the print representing the Battle of New Orleans, in favor of Gen[era]l Jackson. Now then

⁴⁵ Cf. Note 42, Page 83.

after this preface, to the point. My object in writing to you is to get you to obtain from Gen[era]l Harrison himself or some particular and confidential friend, a sketch of the Battle ground with the positions of the Americans and Indians at the most interesting part of the engagement so as to have a print as near as may be conform to the truth of the history. A small engraved portrait of the Gen[era]l with a description of the uniform he used—the Horse he rode etc., etc., would also be desirable—and the sketch of the Battle ground should be accompanied by references and explanations. Now are you not on intimate terms enough with the Gen[era]l or some of his friends to procure this for me? I presume you are and shall therefore expect to hear from you soon in relation to the matter. I presume the Battle of Tippecanoe would be the most eventful period in the history of the Gen[era]l's life, but if it was thought any of his exploits in the last War would be better, let a sketch be provided instead of the other. There can be no doubt but if a print was well got up, as it could be here by the talented artist to whom I allude and in whose behalf I write, its publication and general distribution would produce a most powerful effect, and no time should now be lost in setting about the accomplishment of the object. It may be understood that the source from whence we should derive the information would be perfectly confidential, and indeed no person need know, (if you could from your terms of intimacy with Gen[era]l Harrison apply to him personally) any thing about it except ourselves. You know enough about me and of my standing in Penn[sylvani]a to speak with confidence as to my views, and the honorableness of my intentions. The more I have thought of the subject the more importance I deem it, and I am desirous that the matter should be attended to as soon as possible. I presume C[harles] Hammond⁴⁶ is friendly to Gen[era]l H[arrison] and if necessary you might speak to him upon the subject—but I should prefer if you are familiar enough with the Gen[era]l yourself that the application be made by you personally. There is you know a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to fortune. That flood is now setting in; the tide which is bearing the Gen[era]l at present into popular favor is steady and increasing. Our prospects in Penn[sylvani]a are certainly flattering. The Jackson party is broken—split up—divided. The bitter enmities (?) are very inveterate against each other and the breach is widening

⁴⁶ Cf. Note 47, *Quarterly* II, 18.

daily. I intend commencing soon some articles in our leading print here which I hope will have a good effect in bringing the Gen[era]l more prominently before the people of Penn[sylvani]a and I hope from Cincinnati we shall be furnished with all the material necessary to insure to the cause the most triumphant success. Please excuse the trouble I am giving you by this communication and answer me as soon as in your power that I may know what calculations to make relative to the object I have in mind.

Very truly yours

G. B. Trevor

Excuse this hasty scrawl—I haven't time to correct and amend.

XIII.

WILLIAM L. MILLER TO [JAMES K. FINDLAY?]

[Box 17, No. 34.]

NEW HAVEN, [PENNA.] 3 NOVEMBER, 1836.

Dear Jim,

I have concluded to write you this evening, for fear my hand may shake so bad, tomorrow evening that I cannot write. Tomorrow seals the fine prospects of many men in our state and the fair prospects of some in your state. General Harrison has been here⁴⁷ which I have kept you advised of by the papers. Tomorrow, he goes by the Board, like his great man Stooover (?) of barbacue. I have to try the course against N. Ewing, the Lawyer, your father knows him; there is three Lawyers Runs for Convention⁴⁸ on the Harrison side and three Clodhoppers and Mechanics on the Van Buren side, and I will just tell you, that in case there is a majority of Vanburin, or anti Bank men elected to the Convention, that the charter of the Mammoth bank will be nullifide.⁴⁹ Mark my prediction. I think the General has done his cause no good by his electioneering tour. I have no doubt our state will give Vanburen a majority of 10 or 15000, in this I may be mistaken.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ For references to Harrison's tour see *Niles Register*, LI, passim.

⁴⁸ This convention, elected in fall of 1836 to amend the constitution assembled in May 1837. Cf. McCall, Thaddeus Stevens, 47, 48.

⁴⁹ Cf. McCarthy in *Report of Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1902, Vol. I, 476, 477, 488. The Second United States Bank had been granted a State charter by the Pennsylvania legislature the preceding January.

⁵⁰ The vote for President in Pennsylvania was Van Buren 91,383, Harrison, 86,784. The arbitrary course of the Antimason party under the leadership of Thad-

Give my respects to Dr. S. and tell him to keep cool as he hears of New York and P[ennsylvani]a. going against the Gen[era]l. for so it must be. I will give you the returns as fast as I git them and you send me from Ohio.

XIV.

SAMUEL EVANS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 5, No. 72.]

JUNE 4, 1838.

D[ea]r Sir:

I have received y[ou]r reply to my letter

We have no domestic news of much consequence. Nat Ewing⁵¹ is Judge in place of Baird, and I think will make an excellent one. Union is improving rapidly and is in a prosperous condition. Johny Campbell is as usual—except not Post-Master—Amos⁵² reformed him, which made him for some weeks as restless as a caged Wild-cat. They say Dick Coulter⁵³ of Westmoreland has come out for Porter⁵⁴ and Van Buren, and will in consequence go to Congress again. Andy Stewart⁵⁵ is “figuring” to get back to Congress—but I think it will be “no go.”

I am clearly of the opinion that if the race in Pennsylvania should be between Harrison and Van Buren that Harrison will get the Vote of the State.⁵⁶ Mr. Clay has been gaining rapidly in Penn[sylvani]a, and it is the opinion here that he is the most available Candidate in all the States except the Key-stone. But do not be deceived by the result of the Governor's election, unless the majority against Ritner should be

deus Stevens, the struggle over the state incorporation of the Bank, and the ordinary democratic proclivities of many of the Germans who had supported Ritner on state issues, were responsible for this result. Cf. McCarthy, 483.

⁵¹ See preceding letter, page 86.

⁵² Amos Kendall, then Postmaster-General.

⁵³ His name does not appear in the list given in *Niles' Register*, LV, 129.

⁵⁴ David Rittenhouse Porter, of Huntingdon Co., Pa., a Scotch-Irish iron manufacturer and a democrat of the Wolf type, was nominated by the democrats for Governor. Ritner was made the scapegoat for all the extravagance and political intrigue of the past few years; and despite appeals made to the German element to support him on racial lines, was defeated by a small majority. This campaign, which “will rank as one of the worst in American history,” resulted in the episode known as the “Buckshot War.” McCall, *Thaddeus Stevens*, 50; McCarthy, 494.

⁵⁵ Cf. Box 22, No. 20.

⁵⁶ For the meetings of Committees to further Harrison's candidacy in Pennsylvania. Cf. McMaster, VI, 551.

great—for I am inclined to the opinion that Porter will be elected *by a small majority*. So you will perceive that we are in a “strange fix.” The dissatisfaction in P[ennsylvania] is great with the General Government—but Ritner’s adm[inistration] is not as popular as that of Van Buren is unpopular. However this is all “guess and speculation.”

I saw your brother Jo the other day across the street—he looked well and sound. I think George Meason (of Thomas) will be our next sheriff. The people in y[ou]r old neighborhood are in great glee about the Balti[more] and Ohio Railroad.⁵⁷ They now have money in abundance, and will no doubt soon commence operations along the Yo[u]h[ghio]gheny.] Old Fayette⁵⁸ is still probably Van Burenish, but I do think we could elect Jim Simonson and your brother Jo to the Legislature if they would consent to run. We will see this (Court) week. Our man Todd⁵⁹ has got up wonderfully in the world, from a bound-boy, a common wood-chopper at Masons, to be Att[or]ne[y] General, and now Chief Judge of the King’s bench. They are the kind of boys to push and shove along thro this world

XV.

G. W. JONES TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.
[Box 13, No. 46.]

COLUMBUS, MONDAY EVENING, FEBRY 24, 1840.

Dear Sir,

.
The convention⁶⁰ which had just adjourned is said to have exceeded anything of the kind ever held in Ohio or any other State, and which I am inclined to believe is the fact from what I saw of it. From Springfield to Columbus we met nothing but a mass of human forms of every description, from the old gray haired veteran of 80 to the beardless boys, some in carriages, some in four horse waggons, some on horseback, some in canoes, and log cabins erected on wheels

⁵⁷ The map accompanying the 25th report of the B. & O. Railroad shows that this road along the Youghiogheny is not completed or even projected.

⁵⁸ Fayette County, one of the Western group, and the original home of Torrence, had given a majority for Van Buren in 1836.

⁵⁹ For a notice of James Todd, Cf. McCarthy, 480.

⁶⁰ For an account of this convention Cf. McMaster, VI, 564.

and along the road nothing was to be heard but "hurra for Harrison", "Hurra for Tippecanoe". Sunday as it was many of their banners were hoisted and streaming in the wind, even from some of the houses and particularly the Hotel, were flags with "Harrison and Tyler", but I need not attempt to describe what you have heard more elegantly expressed forty times, before this reaches you. Suffice it to say that if I had wanted evidence of the General's popularity, yesterday would have been sufficient.

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XVI.

D. TORRENCE TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 25, No. 7.]

XENIA, AUGUST 4TH, 1840.

Dear Sir :

.

There is another subject however which I wish to mention and one for which I crave your notice. It is well known to you that there is much political excitement at this time. That the interests of the South and the feelings of the Abolitionists in the north are likely to clash. Which if they really do, than the defeat of Gen[eral] Harrison, nothing is more sure. We have a strong body of abolitionists in this county, and they have to a man been warmly attached to "Old Tip" till these late letters have come to the publick. In this county and I believe in this state the abolitionists hold the balance of power between us and the *levelers*. If we lose them we lose the County and I fear the State. I wish you, if you please, as no doubt you are frequently in conversation with the old Gen[eral], To ascertain whether he is favourable not only to the right of petition and free discussion *in general*, But whether he believes strictly speaking, that abolitionists or others have a constitution[al] right to discuss the subject of slavery, by lectures, and in the publick prints. And whether he is favorable to the right [of] petition, to having petitioners even on this subject respectfully received by Congress.⁶¹ The reason why

⁶¹ For the presence and strength of this abolition sentiment and for the popular impression of Harrison's position, Cf. McMaster, VI, 567-570, 579; Shepard, *Van Buren*, 381. Harrison in May, 1835, at Vincennes, Indiana, made a strong speech against the abolitionist movement then beginning to attract public attention. Cf. Todd & Drake, *Life of Harrison*, 135-139. At Carthage, Ohio, on August 20, he delivered a speech, expressing his regret at the public discussion of a subject strictly within the control of individual states, but at the same time defending the right of free speech and free petition. Cf. *Niles Register*, LIX, 42.

I ask for information on these subjects is this. I have been and yet am engaged in controversy in the Abolition-Whig paper here respecting the duty of abolitionist[s] in voting for Gen[eral] H[arrison] or a third man. The position I have taken is, That in the election of Gen[eral] Harrison there would be a triumph over Slavery.

I do not ask this information to make a public use of it, but only to see whether I cannot have some encouragement to hold on. Though I think a public avowal of the Gen[eral]'s opinions on these subjects might not hurt him in the South and would do him much good in the north.

This would make the Abolitionists easy and without them, I doubt whether he can get a free state in the union except Indiana and Illinois.

I fear—really I fear, the Whigs, and even Gen[eral] H[arrison] is ignorant of the *strength* and feelings of antislavery men. The Whig press represent them as contemptible in numbers which is not the case.

I Crave an answer the first leisure you have. Remember me to your family

Yours Sincerely,

D. Torrence.

XVII.

SAMUEL EVANS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 5, No. 73.]

OCTOBER 17, 1840.

Dr Sir,

We have the strongest hopes that we have carried Pennsylvania for

Tippecanoe,
and Tyler too.

Our Majority in 31 Counties and 1 City is.....6095

Van Burens Majority in 1836 in the 23 counties still

to be heard from was.....4901

1194⁶²

My conjecture is that Van's maj[orit]y in the said 23 Counties will in 1840 not exceed 3000.

⁶² These figures are, of course, for the state election. Pennsylvania, the first of the states to cast a vote for the national candidates did not do so until October 30th. For election details Cf. McMaster VI, 587ff.

In Berks we did not oppose them—therefore don't let them impose their *whole vote* there on you as a *majority*. Their majority in Berks according to our estimate will not exceed 3300.

We are in the highest spirits—confident that we will carry the State for Harrison and Tyler on the 30th.

XVIII.

MRS. JANE CATH. WEVER TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 28, No. 30.]

NEAR HAGERSTOWN, MARCH 15TH. /41

MRS FINDLAY

Dear Madam :—I am unused to solicitation at court, but my husband being now in Washington and an applicant for the Office of Paymaster at Harpers ferry I am induced to presume on your goodness, and ask your aid with the Pres[i]d[en]t. for the office in question.

The salary is a small one, but owing to the deranged state of the monetary affairs of our country during the late mal-administration and the present unsettled state of business, would be of great service and very acceptable.

Having been intimately connected by bonds of amity and friendship which distance alone has interrupted with one branch of Gen[era]l Findlay's family—that of Col. John Findlay⁶³ of Chambersburg, and having been in some slight degree acquainted with yourself I avail myself of this as an opening to address you in behalf of my husband, feeling great hopes that you will do me the favor to mention my solicitude to Gen[era]l. Harrison.

I have heard Mr. Wever speak of the friendly aid rendered him by Gen[era]l Findlay, in the procurement of the appointment of Sup[erintenden]t. of the Cumberland road, conferred on him by Mr. Adams, and I am aware of his selection at that time, of Mr. Nathan Findlay,⁶⁴ as his clerk in consequence of his grateful feelings to him, and to Messrs John and W[illia]m Findlay⁶⁵ for their aid in procuring him the appointment.

I cannot, tho' it may here appear irrelevant, mentioning here the high esteem in which I hold my old friend W. N. Findlay, and here I may also say, that after Mr. Wever had resigned his appointment

⁶³ Cf. *Quarterly*, I, p. 65.

⁶⁴ Nathan Findlay was a brother of James.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Quarterly*, I, p. 65.

on the Road, after Gen[era]l. Jacksons appointment to the presidency, Mr. W[ever] exerted himself in Mr. N[athan]. F[indlay's] behalf in explaining personally and confidentially to the Engineer department the necessity and importance of keeping him in office, as the clerk of the Superintendent.

Had not my husband been a most faithful officer and done, what in later years has been rather unfashionable to do, honorably, satisfactorily and promptly settled his account, for the disbursement of a large sum of money, I could not expect him to be successful; but he has done so, and therefore I can feel no hesitation in asking for what I confidently feel will never be abused.

Please then, dear Madam, mention my suit to Gen[era]l. Harrison: Ladies *may* sometimes lend an aid in these matters and if you can further my husband's views, thro' any of your friends or by personally mentioning it to Gen[era]l. Harrison I feel confident you will not refuse. May I anxiously solicit your friendly aid whilst I subscribe myself

XIX.

J. K. FINDLAY TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 8, No. 8.]

LANCASTER, [PA.], MARCH 25, 1841.

My dear Aunt,

George W. Harris Esq. of Harrisburg the bearer of this letter, is about to visit Washington for the purpose of soliciting the appointment of Postmaster of that town. Mr. Harris is the son of Robert Harris, Esq[ui]re, of that place (whom you know very well) and a descendant of the proprietor of the town. His mother and mine were great friends and there has always been great intimacy and friendship between the families. Mr. Harris' integrity is spotless and his qualifications unquestionable and I feel very certain that the General could not possibly select any one of his friends who would be more acceptable to the respectable mention of both political parties than he. He has among his opponents a Mr. Jones who I understand is well off and has not half the influence and standing Mr. H[arris] has. I am candid when I say that it would be the interest of my party that Mr. H[arris] should be disappointed, for they could certainly make political capital out of it. But I don't wish in this instance to make

political gain by the rejection of my friend Harris, for whom I have always had a great regard and esteem, altho' differing from him in politics. Nor would I ask you to use your influence with the General to persuade him to do an act which I thought would injure him with his political friends. I am politically not personally opposed to the General. But you may rest assured that those of his friends whose good opinion he would most appreciate and the public generally will be more pleased with Mr. Harris appointment than with that of any other man he could select. I hope you will do him all the kind offices in your power for if Mr. Penach is to be removed I should be personally exceedingly gratified to see my friend Harris installed as his Successor.

I am glad to hear from Mr. Buchanan that you will visit Pennsylvania next summer. My Saray and I will meet you somewhere. She loves you already in anticipation and sends a great deal of it to you and as for myself I am ever tenderly and affectionately

Your nephew

J. K. Findlay.

P. S.—My love to Cousin Jenny⁶⁶ and to Cousin Eliza too. Tell them I had no idea of *the mendacity of the press till it began to praise their beauty.*

XX.

ELIZA M. LEWIS TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 14, No. 44.]

CALHOUN, RIVES C[OUN]TY, APRIL 3D, 1841.

Dear Madam

Circumstances of a painful nature, have induced me to recall to your memory an acquaintance whom perhaps you may have forgotten, in the changing scenes of eleven years, but in all the vicissitudes of those painful years (to me) the kindness of Mrs. Findlay and the warm hearted old General, and the happiest six months of her life spent beneath the same roof with them, has never been forgotten by Eliza McLean. Alas, I little thought at that time what trials awaited me, young, gay, and thoughtless. I little thought that the same year

⁶⁶ Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison, daughter-in-law of the President; "Cousin Eliza" is probably Elizabeth Irwin Harrison, wife of John Scott Harrison.

that made me a happy bride would see me a bereaved widow. A few months after parting from you in Cincinnati, it pleased God to take my excellent husband. You, my dear Madam, who knew his worth, can have an idea what a loss he was not only to me but to his state; his affairs were so deranged, that nothing was left for a support for me and my infant daughter, born some months after her father's decease. My health became too delicate for me to try and earn one, consequently I was forced to be a dependent on my relatives, for nearly four years, at the end of which time I married again. My husband's name is Lewis, of the ancient family of that name in Virginia. His father was a nephew and one of the heirs of Gen[era]l.⁶⁷ Washington, but left his children nothing except their good name, the high minded honour and polished manner of old Virginia gentlemen, a race now nearly extinct. A continued series of casualties or bad fortune has ever since our marriage befallen us and still kept us poor, several years since we emigrated this "far west", in hopes of bettering our situation. My husband calculates on getting contracts for surveying public lands, having been engaged for some years previous in that business, but the spirit of party was so high in this Humbug state, that the Surveyor General was too good a democrat to let contracts to a Whig, although knowing well his proficiency in the business. It appears ridiculous enough, but such we all know has been the custom of the mal-administration, and nowhere has its arbitrary measures been more severely felt than in this good Benton state.

The pressure of the times has been felt even in this remote district and we have as usual had our share of misfortune; much of our little all has been already sacrificed, and in a few months more, the last of that little must go. It is under these painful circumstances, that I have had the presumption, I may call it, of asking (through your mediation) of the President an appointment that will place an honest and intelligent man in a station where he may be useful to himself and his country, and enable him to stem the tide of misfortune. I am well aware that I am acting out of all precedent in thus asking an office for my husband, but despair will carry us great lengths, and hope taking her place still urges us onward.

I almost despair when I think of my presumption in applying to the President himself, who knows nothing of me, but hope nerves me

⁶⁷ The name of George Lewis is mentioned in *The Last Will and Testament of General George Washington*, (Phila. 1800) p. 12, 15.

again when I think that your kind heart, dear Madam, will plead my cause. Of my husbands character I cannot say too much. I hope you knew me well enough to know that I would not ask if he were unworthy. His integrity, his honorable character, his warm though humble exertions in Gen[era]l Harrisons cause, can be well attested by hundreds of respectable and hardy pioneers. He has been advised by his friends to solicit the office of register or receiver of some of the land offices, or that of surveyor general, for either of which he is well qualified but he never has seemed to think it possible for a moment, nor do I believe they have ever for a moment dreamed of an office. He is too disinterested to think of it and rather than enroll himself one of the hundred applicants would be contented to struggle on still harder for the sake of his helpless family, but I cannot see him thus without making one effort to aid him, though that effort, Heaven knows, may prove ineffectual. He knows nothing at all of my writing. I have kept it and will keep it a secret from him unless the President is kind enough to read my plain tale and hearken to his native goodness of heart by granting my petition. I know, my Dear Madam, that you will befriend me and should I be successful, the prayers of a grateful mother shall ascend to Heaven with those of her innocent daughter hourly for your welfare. I have said my husband knew nothing of my design in writing this. I would not for a moment add to his troubles by exciting hopes that might again be crushed.

I might possibly [have] persuaded him to apply for an office in the usual way by getting up recommendations and getting our congressman to present them, but then the probable disappointment would have been mortifying; I have therefore chosen the shortest way, reserving the mortification of a probable refusal all to myself. I will only add again that the character of my husband (I here speak impartially as though he were not my husband) will stand the test of the most rigid examination. I throw myself on the generosity of Gen[era]l. Harrison knowing it does not often fail those in misfortune, and your goodness, my dear Madam, for excusing this long and tedious letter. A few lines from you will be thankfully received whether realizing or crushing my hopes; if the former you can better imagine my feelings than I describe, if the latter, I am prepared to struggle on, trusting that God will "temper the wind to the shorn lamb". And now dearest Madam will you excuse this long letter?

The very many happy hours spent with you will never be forgotten
by your sincere friend

Eliza M. Lewis.

P. S.—My husband's name is George Lewis, if you will be kind
enough to write to me, my address is E. M. Lewis, Calhoun, Rives
county, Missouri.

XXI.

THOMAS B. VAN HORNE TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 26, No. 77.]

NEAR LEBANON APRIL 4TH 1841.

Dear Madam,

The warm and uninterrupted friendship which existed for more
than twenty years between your deceased husband and myself, and the
repeated marks of kindness received from you during that time and
since, must plead my excuse for addressing you at this time. I feel
greatly rejoiced that events and circumstances which have transpired
render it proper that you and Mrs. Jane Harrison, a female I always
loved, should be inmates of the Presidents house, and yet I cannot
but regret that our mutual friend Mr. Whiteman⁶⁸ should be deprived
of your society and hers, and your supervision and assistance in his
family. Poor man, he looked when I saw him a few days after your
departure from Cincinnati, as if he had lost nearly all his friends.
Indeed he told me, that if he had thought the election of Gen[eral]
Harrison would have made such a breach in his family,⁶⁹ he would
have been almost tempted to have wished him unsuccessful.

The interest which Gen[eral] Findlay manifested in matters which
related to my interest and official character,⁷⁰ whilst a Military and a
Land officer, and the belief that you also felt some anxiety in the
same matters, prompt me to say a few words on the subject of my ap-
plication to be reinstated in the office from which I was removed, be-
cause I would not use my official influence in favor of the then exist-

⁶⁸ Probably Lewis Whiteman whom she afterwards married.

⁶⁹ General Harrison's wife preferred to remain at North Bend, so it was necessary
for his daughter-in-law, accompanied by Mrs. James Findlay, to preside over the do-
mestic affairs of the White House.

⁷⁰ For correspondence between Van Horne and General Findlay Cf. Box 26,
Nos. 70-77. The former was removed from his position as register of the land office
in Piqua, and was not restored as a result of this letter.

ing administration. A package of recommendatory letters and papers which were forwarded to Mr. Morrow⁷¹ the Member of Congress from this District, were left by him with Mr. Stewart of Illinois to present to Mr. Ewing⁷² after he should have taken possession of the Treasury Department—Mr. Morrow left Washington the day after the inauguration, and consequently could not present them himself. He told me the other day, that he had received no acknowledgement of the receipt of them from Mr. Ewing, and I am rather fearful that something may have occurred, which has prevented them from being received as intended. I am aware that there must necessarily be a very great press of business in all the Departments of the Government, and therefore feel unwilling to trouble the President with the subject by a written communication addressed to him. Will Mrs. Findlay at her own time, and in her own way (but not to induce the belief that I am importuneing improperly) do me the favor to make the inquiry of Gen[eral] Harrison whether he has any knowledge of my application? and also whether he intends the present incumbent, Mr. Helfenstein, shall continue in the Registers office at Lima.

I regret that I have no male friend in the President's family whom I could address on this business. But I flatter myself that Mrs. Findlay will not entertain the thought that I would ask any favor of her which I considered improper to be granted.

My family and friends in this vicinity are well.

With sentiments of esteem and respect, I am Dear Madam, your sincere friend and

hum-Servt.

Thos. B. V. Horne.

Mrs. Jane Findlay,
Washington,

P. S.—I have been encouraged to believe by Mr. Morrow and other friends, that I should receive the appointment named and feel some anxiety on the subject, that I may be prepared to act according to circumstances, and make such arrangements as may become necessary, if successful or otherwise.

T. B. V. H.

⁷¹ Hon. Jeremiah Morrow who lived near Lebanon, and who late in life for a term returned to the scene of his early labors in Congress. For an account of his long and useful career as congressman, governor, and senator, Cf. "*Old Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, in which appears a valuable biography by his grandson, Josiah Morrow, Esquire, of Lebanon.

⁷² Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, the Secretary of the Treasury.

XXII.

JAMES R. BUTLER TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 3, No. 52.]

ARSENAL [PITTSBURG] 7TH APRIL, 1841.

My dear Madam,

How deeply do I sympathize with the family and friends of my departed friend Gen[era]l Harrison, than whom I never had a warmer one. This lamented infliction of Providence changes the position of the members of his family at Washington, who will no doubt return home. Mrs. Butler begs that you and Mrs. W[illiam] Harrison⁷³ and any other of his friends who may accompany you, will make our home your home. I would advise you to journey by the way of the Penn[sylvania] Canal;⁷⁴ and by dropping me a line on the day you leave *Harrisburgh*, I will then know and make arrangements to meet you on your arrival at the Canal Basin, Pittsburg. Since closing the letter to you a messenger arrives with news of the death of Judge Dallas.⁷⁵

XXIII.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 7, No. 71.]

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 8, 1841.

Dear Sister,

I did suppose that the vigor of the President's constitution afforded the promise of a long life for him, but alas! how short sighted we are. His unexpected Demise, however we may speculate upon the means which led to it, according to my views on the subject, it was *to be* and, of course, *would be*. I am a strong predestenarian on such points and believe the event to be in perfect accordance with the plan adopted by Deity for the government of the Universe, and though we cannot comprehend this plan, as we can see but a part and not the whole of his system of Government, we are bound to submit to all his decrees with humble and becoming resignation. The melancholy event, as we view it, will not be without its effects on the politics of

⁷³ Mrs. William H. Harrison, Jr., of course.

⁷⁴ Later the line closely followed by the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

⁷⁵ A. J. Dallas, father of George M. Dallas, vice-president under Polk.

our Country and the future management of our Government. The consequences of it to his family are much to be deplored and will be long felt by them, and with whom I sincerely sympathize. They have lost their earthly Guardian and protector and the bright prospects which opened to their view by his recent elevation in this world are blasted. They may however console themselves with a well founded hope, that he has been elevated to more sublime and blessed enjoyments than anything which this world could afford.

His death will greatly affect several of our Family connections. I am fully impressed that he was kindly disposed towards many of them, and which he would have evinced by efficient acts had he been longer spared. He would, especially, have given brother Thomas,⁷⁶ a situation which would have enabled him to maintain his Family. . .

Yesterday a large meeting was held by the citizens of the City and County of Phlid. to make arrangements to manifest their respect for the memory of the President. You may shortly see an account of the affair in the newspapers. I was not able to attend the meeting. The mint was shut on the day, still I had to do business for some gentlemen who were travelling.

Remember me affectionately to our dear Niece Jane, I deeply commiserate the loss of her good Father-in-law.

Your brother
Wm. Findlay

Mrs. Jane Findlay
care of Gen[era]l. Jesup
Washington City

XXIV.

JAMES FINDLAY HARRISON⁷⁷ TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.
[Box 10, No. 5.]
U. S. M. A. OCT 22ND, [1841].

Dearest Auntie,

Uncle James⁷⁸ has not answered my letter, which I wrote at Ma's request, and I am angry with him on that account. He is so proud

⁷⁶ For Thomas Finley, Cf. *Quarterly* I, 66.
⁷⁷ Son of W. H. Harrison, Jr.
⁷⁸ James Ramsay Irwin, a captain in the Mexican War and Chief Quartermaster to Scott's army. He died in Mexico City in 1848. His sister Jane had married W. H. Harrison, Jr.

that because I met with misfortune he does not care for me. 'Tis ever thus when Fortune favours all, *all* are ones friends but when once She frowns the luke warm friends fly away like rats from a sinking ship. But before such friends desert *me* they had better inquire how much their desertion afflicts me and if I will ever be able to survive the shock. I saw Gen[era]l Jesup⁷⁹ as I came back. I went up to him as an old friend—held out my hand—How are you General? in as warm a manner as I would have met a relation. How are you Mr. Harrison? (in a cold formal tone). How is your Aunt and Mother. Well we met again in the cars, I thought to have a chat with him. He commenced the conversation by asking me Where is Mr. Longworth? I dont know General, I'll find him, said I. I looked—found—and sent Joe Longworth to him and that was the last word we spoke except to say Goodbye Gen[era]l, Goodbye *Mr.* Harrison. How different when I was the grandson of *President Harrison*. He—this same General Jesup would sit and talk with us for hours. His battles, dangers, etc., etc., would be repeated over and over—His fuss with Gen[era]l Scott etc.

General Scott—how different is this noble old chief. “You have lost your best friend, I will be one to you now” were his words to me in Washington and he has ever been kind and condescending. He has honoured me in a way I shall never forget. Once at the hotel he put both his hands on my shoulders and introduced me to a host of officers as his *friend* Cadet Harrison. I am forever that man's friend as long as I live and will always support him with all my soul and hand.

XXV.

FROM THE *Cincinnati Gazette*, JULY 8TH, 1841.

THE FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.—Our citizens, yesterday morning, rendered their last honors to the earthly remains of their late friend and fellow-citizen, William Henry Harrison. The hearse which bore the body from the residence of Col[onel] Taylor⁸⁰ to the steamboat that conveyed it to North Bend, was preceded by the company of Dragoons, and the several military companies which ar-

⁷⁹ Thomas Jesup. An intimate friend of General James Findlay and of General Harrison, as shown by their correspondence, in which they often mention his residence as their headquarters, while in Washington.

⁸⁰ See note 39.

rived from the Louisville Encampment in time to join in the procession, and followed by relatives and personal friends of the deceased, by the Committee which brought it from Washington, the Committee of Forty which had been appointed to make arrangements for the Obsequies, the City Council, Officers and Soldiers of the late war, Judges and Officers of the Superior and Common Pleas Courts, members of the Bar, Odd Fellows, Firemen, other Associations, and large numbers of citizens in individual capacity.

The procession moved, to solemn music, from the residence of Col[onel] Taylor on Sixth street west to Race ; thence south to Fourth ; thence east to Broadway ; thence down Broadway to the wharf, and on the wharf to the steamboat Raritan, which lay at the foot of Main ; and the pavements, and doors and windows of houses, for the whole of this distance, were crowded with persons, numbering doubtless from 18,000 to 20,000 who had assembled to have a last look, as it passed, of the coffin which inclosed the body of the venerated dead.

The boat left the wharf for the Bend about one o'clock, bearing with the remains the Committees, the detachment of United States Marines, and relatives of the deceased. By special invitation, the Rev. John T. Brooke went down, to perform the funeral service of the Church of England, at the tomb.

It is much to be regretted, that all the Companies which formed the Oakland Encampment, did not reach the city in time to join in the procession. The Louisville, Butler, Harrison and Citizens Guards, and the Dayton Artillery, left soon after the others, but on a boat which ran much slower than the Mail and did not arrive here till just as the Raritan was putting off with the remains.

He is Gone !—Of the ceremonies which took place yesterday, we attempt no labored or particular account. Our feelings disqualify us for anything of this kind. It is with great difficulty, indeed, that we can realize the melancholy truth, that he who a few months ago was moving daily among us, the theme of all tongues, the toast of all tables, the one object, next to *self* of universal regard and almost universal admiration—that he who at a later period, was fully invested, in the midst of assembled thousands from all parts of the Union, with the highest honors which a free and grateful people could bestow, and received them as became a republican statesman and a christian man—that he who, immediately after this, entered upon the discharge of the high duties imposed, with a solemn sense of their great responsibility and a noble determination to be governed in all things relating

to them by conscientious convictions of the *right*; that this good man has gone from among us, from among all living, and forever, it is difficult, indeed, fully to realize. Such, nevertheless, is the melancholy truth. We have looked upon him and upon the earthly tabernacle of his spirit, for the last time. We shall see his long-familiar form, gaze upon his well-remembered features, hear the tones of his still-ringing voice no more—*no more forever*. He is GONE!

“Gone to the land of the great departed,
Gone to the Silent Land.”

And it is only given us, henceforth, to venerate his character, to keep green the memory of his good deeds, and to emulate his virtues. At this time, ‘expressive silence’ will best ‘muse his praise.’

‘How sleep the brave, who sink to rest,
By all their country’s wishes blest;
When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mould;
She there shall dress a sweeter sod,
Than Fancy’s feet have ever trod:
By Fairy hands their knell is rung,
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim grey,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there!’

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending
December 7, 1908



CINCINNATI
PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM

105-118

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ELIOTT H. PENDLETON, - - - - -	

The meetings of the Society are held in its room in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The library is a free public library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.

ANNUAL REPORT

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LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

CINCINNATI, DEC. 7TH, 1908.

During the year the following named accessions to the library have been acquired:—

Books, - - - - -	962
Pamphlets, - - - - -	1048
Manuscript volumes, - - -	2
Manuscripts unbound, - - -	99

Of the volumes added, 840 were donated; 122 purchased and 2 others were procured by exchange. 1040 pamphlets were donated and 8 bought.

From the income of the Elizabeth Appleton fund there have been bought 31 volumes. From the income of the Margaret Rives King fund there have been bought 91 volumes and 2 pamphlets, and 8 periodicals have been credited to the General fund.

The Library contains at the present time 23,092 volumes and about 68,962 pamphlets.

In 1906 Mr. Erasmus Gest presented 500 volumes to the Society, which gift was not deposited in the library until after his decease in May last. This collection of books contains some very choice works, principally along the lines of history, biography and travel, and while there are many which relate to foreign Countries, others bear upon North America. There are Histories of the World; of foreign Countries; of the United States and other parts of America; Neal's History of the Puritans, and Hall's Puritans and their Principles;

Exodus of Western Nations by Viscount Bury; Hebrew Bible published in Amsterdam, 1753; Brown's Antiquities of the Jews; and numerous works of travel and others of miscellaneous character. A large crayon portrait of Mr. Gest was included in the gift, and it has found place among portraits of other members and friends of the Society. His generosity to us and his interest in the welfare of our Society, have been evinced in other ways, an account of which will be found in the Report of our President for this year.

Another very acceptable gift has been received, coming from the heirs of Mr. William Henry Davis, deceased, which consists of 56 volumes, 13 pamphlets and various miscellanies. The volumes are chiefly of historical and biographical nature, and only ten of them are duplicates of books previously in the library.

We are again indebted to Mr. William K. Bixby of St Louis, for a choice production. This year he has sent to our collection a copy of "Hamilton's Itinerarium, 1742" printed from the original manuscript in the possession of Mr. Bixby, who had 487 copies printed for private distribution. It is a narrative of a journey from Annapolis through the eastern States during the summer of 1744, made by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a practicing physician residing in Annapolis at that period.

Miss M. E. Keyes has added to the Cabinet a large, full length photograph of Justice Stanley Matthews, and Mr. W. Meredith Yeatman has given a photographic copy of Griffin Yeatman, one of our early pioneers, who came from Virginia to Cincinnati about 1795, and there kept an Inn. We have received, also, from the children of Dr. Thomas E. Thomas of Dayton, Ohio, a photograph of the Rev. John W. Scott, D. D., who for many years was associated with Miami University, Farmer's College and the Oxford Female Seminary, in this locality. This photograph bears the inscription "Born Jan. 22, 1800, Photo. taken Jan. 22, 1890" and his autograph.

Only a few additions have been made to the manuscript collection during the year. They are:

Architect's Design and Specification, with fifty-three letters relating to the Fort Washington monument erected by the Patriotic Societies, in East Third Street near Ludlow Street. Presented by Mr. Howard S. Winslow, who was the Chairman of the Building Committee.

Forty-three letters of recent dates, written by various persons of prominence, addressed to Mr. John B. Peaslee, the donor.

Manuscript book, formerly a part of the Dr. W. W. Dawson library, containing notes taken at the Medical College of Ohio in 1849-50. From Mr. Davis L. James.

The Certificate of Naturalization of Charles Reemelin, Cincinnati, 1837. From Mr. James Morrison.

A Patent from the U. S. Government of one-quarter of a section of land "In the District of Cincinnati and State of Indiana" granted to David Kilgour and Griffin Taylor, 1824. From Mr. Griffin T. Miller.

One book containing a copy of the Records of the Simpson Family as entered in an old family Bible still in the possession of a descendant. It covers the dates of the marriage of Jesse Root Grant and Hannah Simpson, and the births of their son Hiram Ulysses Grant (U. S. Grant) and their other children. Further contents are an account of the Grant Memorial Exercises at Batavia, Ohio, 1907, and numerous sketches, newspaper clippings, etc. relating to the occasion and to the Grant family. From Mrs. Charles W. Baker, who has sent, also, two copies of the beautiful Woodward Souvenir, with newspaper accounts of the laying of the corner stone of the New Woodward High School Building, Nov. 4, 1908.

Mr. Nathaniel H. Davis added to the Cabinet collection a Badge of the Executive Committee of the Taft Notification Day, July 28th, accompanied by various Programs and Invitation cards, and to Mr. G. R. Scrugham we are indebted for a copy of the "Parade Committee Report" a beautiful souvenir of the proceedings of the day. Other material bearing upon the election of the Hon. William Howard Taft of Cincinnati to the Presidency of the United States, or relative to any action taken by our citizens on this momentous occasion, in the form of manuscripts, printed matter, pictures, cartoons, etc., would be most appropriately placed for future reference, if deposited in the collection of this Historical Society located in his native city.

Governor A. L. Harris presented our Society a copy of "State and Local Taxation" containing the proceedings of the First National Conference held under the auspices of the National Tax Association, at Columbus, 1907, and the Secretary of State has sent 19 volumes of Ohio State publications to aid in filling out our incomplete sets. We still lack a number.

By purchase we have added to the library several books on Ohio, namely: History of Clermont and Portage Counties; History of Western Ohio & Auglaize County; Shakers of Ohio; History of Columbus; History of Dayton; Dawson's Birds of Ohio; Van Tassel's Book of Ohio, consisting of two large volumes with about 2000 illustrations of points of interest in the State, and Mr. John F. Winslow gave copies of the "Ohio Canals" and the "Ohio Hundred Year Book."

Other titles acquired by purchase, are: Lowery's Spanish Settlements in the United States; Hughes' History of the Society of Jesus

in North America; Channing's History of the United States, Vol. 3; Fleming's Documentary History of Reconstruction; Smith's Our Struggle for the 14th Colony; Washington-Irvine Correspondence; Minnesota in Three Centuries; Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence; Letters of Cortez to Charles V.; Richardson's Messages and Documents of the Confederacy; Puritans in England and New England; Political History of the United States by Gordy; Fisher's Struggle for American Independence; Trevelyan's American Revolution, part 3; Works of James Buchanan; Histories of several Counties in Pennsylvania; United States First Census, 1790, covering the New England States and New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina; Several volumes of the Original Narrative Series and of the American Commonwealth Series; Biographies, and other works too numerous to enumerate.

Three sets: American Nation Series; Thwaites' Early Western Travels and Lee's North America, have been completed this year. Besides the volumes already mentioned, a curious and beautiful volume entitled "Christopher Columbus, His own Book of Privileges, 1502" was purchased. It is a facsimile of the manuscript in the Archives of the Foreign Office in Paris, with an English translation, which adds to its interest.

To conduct a library as large as our own, in accordance with modern methods, makes heavy inroads upon the time of a librarian who has no regular assistant, and as a result the re-organization of our entire collection, which was made necessary by its increasing size as well as its changed abode, progresses slowly and it may be several years before its condition reaches the standard set. As shown in preceding annual reports, the main portion of the books have been placed under the new system of cataloguing. During this year, the librarian, with the aid of an assistant for two months, has separated thousands of pamphlets, placing each under its special classification. This is but the beginning of a laborious task, requiring an immense amount of patience and perseverance, and yet, well worth while, as even in its present unfinished state, its desirability and usefulness have already become apparent.

L. BELLE HAMLIN, *Librarian.*

DONORS TO THE LIBRARY

	VOL.	PAM.
American Library Association,		I
American Jewish Historical Association,	I	
Boston City Hospital,		I
Boston City Register Department,		I
Bunker Hill Monument Association,	2	
Cambridge Historical Society,		I
Chicago Historical Society,		I
Cincinnati—		
Chamber of Commerce,	I	
Children's Home,		2
City Auditor,	3	
Commercial Club,		I
Museum Association,		12
Nomad Club,		20
Ohio Mechanics' Institute,		3
Orchestra Association,		I
Music Hall Association,		I
Public Library,		6
University of Cincinnati,		29
Colorado College,		6
Colorado Scientific Society,		10
Connecticut Historical Society,		I
Connecticut State Library,	3	3
Essex Institute,		I
Illinois State Historical Society,	2	2
Indiana Historical Society,		4
Indiana State Library,	I	
Institute Geológico de Mexico,	3	3
International Conciliation Association,		I
Iowa Grand Lodge,		I
Iowa Historical Department,		3
Iowa State Historical Society,	7	5
Kansas State Historical Society,	I	I
Lake Mohonk Conference,		I
Louisiana Historical Society,		I
Massachusetts Historical Society,	2	
Medford Historical Society,		2
Michigan Pioneer & Historical Society,		I

Military Order of the Loyal Legion, U. S.—

California,		55
Iowa,		18
Minnesota,		19
New York,		34
Ohio,		28
Wisconsin,		12
Milwaukee Public Museum,		1
Missouri State Historical Society,	1	5
Museo Nacional de Rio de Janiero,		1
Nebraska State Historical Society,	2	
Newberry Library,		2
New Hampshire Historical Society,		2
New York Lenox Library,		1
New York Public Library,		9
New York State Historical Society,	1	
Ohio—		
Agricultural Experimental Station,	1	
Board of State Charities,		3
Diocese of Southern Ohio,		1
Secretary of State,	19	
State Archæological and Historical Society,		2
State Board of Commerce,	1	
Ohio Society of New York,	2	
Railway News Bureau,		1
Royal Society of Canada,	3	
Schenectady County Historical Society,		1
Syracuse Public Library,		1
Texas State Historical Society,	1	3
United States—		
Bureau of American Ethnology,	1	
Bureau of Education,	3	3
Coast & Geodetic Survey,	1	
Department of Agriculture,		6
Department of Commerce & Labor,		15
Interstate Commerce,		186
Library of Congress,	2	6
Postmaster General,		1
Universite de Toulouse,		3
University of California,		5
University of Michigan,	1	1
University of Toronto,	1	
Virginia State Library,		2
Washington State Historical Society,		1
Washington University State Historical Society,	1	2
Western Reserve Historical Society,		7
Williams' Directory Company,	1	
Wisconsin Natural History Society,		2

	VOL.	PAM.
Worcester Public Library,		1
Yale University Library,		3
Alexander, C. B.,	I	
Anonymous,		8
Bixby, W. K.,	I	
Bryant, T. J.,		1
Chaddock, R. E.,		1
Conner, J. S.,		1
Cook, Miss Diathea,	I	
Dempsey, E. J.,		1
Depew, C. M.,		3
Dickore, Mrs. H., misc. &		7
Edson, Obed,		1
Espy, Arthur,	I	
Harris, A. L.,	I	
Hawkins, J. P., misc.		
Irwin, Mrs. L. W.,		1
Jameson, J. F.,		1
Kittredge, Miss Anna,	I	
Mac Lean, John,		2
Maxwell, W. A., misc. &	I	
Middleton, Mrs. G. A.,		1
Moore, C. B.,	I	
Peaslee, J. B., mns.,		
Rogers, W. P.,		1
Scrugham, G. R.,	I	
Smith, Mrs. M. P. W.,	I	
Thayer, G. A.,		1
Williams, H. A.,		4

MEMBERS

Anderson, Mrs. L. N.,		7
Baker, Mrs. C. W., misc. &	3	3
Bliss, E. F.,	8	53
Chatfield, A. H.,	5	272
Cox, I. J.,		2
Davis, W. H., Estate of, misc. &	56	13
Gest, Erasmus,	500	
Hamlin, L. B.,		11
Holmes, D. H., misc.		
James, D. L., mns. &	1	16
Storer, Bellamy		5
Taylor, W. W.,		1

	VOL.	PAM.
Wilby, Joseph, misc. &		2
Winslow, H. S., mns.,		
Winslow, J. F.,	3	54
Worthington, W.,	I	

DONORS TO THE CABINET

Davis, N. H.,	I Taft Badge.
Gest, Erasmus,	I Portrait.
James, D. L.,	4 Prints.
Keyes, Miss M. E.,	I Portrait.
Thomas, Dr. T., Children of,	I Photograph.
Yeatman, W. M.,	I Photograph.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

There is not much to record for the past year beyond what is set forth in the report of the Librarian.

The remoteness of our present quarters has resulted in the same serious inconvenience as in all the years since we left Garfield Place.

Two life members have died during the past year, William Henry Davis, on December 18th, 1907, and Erasmus Gest, on February 7th, 1908.

The books given to the Society by Mr. Gest in 1906, and mentioned in the annual report for that year, were shortly after his death removed to our library from his late residence in Campbell County, Kentucky.

By a codicil to his will, probated April 4, 1908, Mr. Gest bequeathed to us, besides certain specific articles of historical and artistic value, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars (\$5,000), as a contribution to a fund for building down town a separate home for the Society.

We have lost by death three corporate members, Reuben Haines Warder, December 26th, 1907, Benjamin Rush Cowen, January 30th, 1908, and Miss Phoebe S. Baker, November 14, 1908.

Last February the Society joined in a movement towards collecting and publishing information concerning the language of the Miami nation of Indians, by sending Representative J. Warren Keifer a set of resolutions on the subject requesting the Bureau of Ethnology to take action in the matter.

Your President collected during September a further sum of \$1400 from the Executor of the will of Mrs. Margaret Rives King, making, with sums heretofore received, \$7600. A balance of one or two hundred dollars will presently be paid to us in full satisfaction of the legacy.

Mr. Charles Theodore Greve attended, on our behalf, the meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association at Marietta, Ohio, on November 27th and 28th. We should be in sympathy with its work, and approve Mr. Greve's action in enrolling this Society as a member of the Association. Its next meeting will be at Frankfort, Kentucky, next October.

JOSEPH WILBY, *President.*

DECEMBER 7, 1908.

REPORT OF TREASURER

DECEMBER 7th, 1908.

To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

I have the honor to present the annual report of the Assets and Liabilities of THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO for the year ending November 30th, 1908.

A. H. CHATFIELD, *Treasurer.*

"Schedule A"

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

At November 30th, 1908.

ASSETS.

Cash Balance,	\$1,039 67
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Interest on Deposit, . .	9 83
Investments, Exhibit 1,	23,809 42
Fee of Property No. 107 W. Eighth Street,	29,000 00
	\$53,858 92

LIABILITIES.

General Fund, Exhibit 2,	\$716 25
Building Fund, Exhibit 3,	17,057 87
Endowment Fund, Exhibit 3,	12,320 00
Life Membership Fund, Exhibit 4,	5,037 13
Julius Dexter Publication Fund,—Income, . . . Exhibit 4,	198 74
" " " " Principal, . . . Exhibit 4,	850 00
E. H. Appleton—Memorial Fund, Exhibit 5,	4,045 90
" " Income Account, Exhibit 5,	105 23
Halstead Neave Fund—Investment Account, . Exhibit 5,	4,242 50
" " " Income Account, . . . Exhibit 5,	5 30
Margaret Rives King Fund—Income Account, . Exhibit 6,	247 04
" " " Investment Account, Exhibit 6,	8,007 50
Colonial Dames Fund—Income Account, . . . Exhibit 6,	14 73
" " " Investment Account, . Exhibit 6,	200 00
Binding Fund—Income Account, Exhibit 7,	100 59
" " Investment Account, Exhibit 7,	710 14
	\$53,858 92

"Schedule B"

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For Year Ended November 30th, 1908.

RECEIPTS.

DUES—1906,	\$20 00	
1907,	130 00	
1908,	440 00	
		<u>\$590 00</u>
INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:		
General Fund,	\$30 00	
Life Membership Fund,	274 50	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund,	36 00	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund,	193 50	
Margaret Rives King Fund,	264 00	
Colonial Dames Fund,	12 00	
Binding Fund,	30 00	
Halstead Neave Fund,	170 00	
		<u>1,010 00</u>
Rent to October 31, 1908, 107 West Eighth St., M. M. Robertson,		800 00
Legacy of M. R. King,		1,400 00
		<u>\$3,800 00</u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries—Librarian and Janitor,	\$1,050 00	
Assistant Librarian,	113 31	
Card Catalogue Expense,	10 00	
Printing,	258 23	
Postage,	22 50	
Stationery and Subscriptions,	45 61	
General Expense,	90 65	
Dues of Librarian,	10 00	
Insurance,	24 50	
M. R. King Fund—Purchases and Expenses,	195 27	
E. H. Appleton Fund—Purchases and Ex- penses,	86 86	
		<u>1,906 93</u>
INVESTMENT MADE FROM:		
Margaret Rives King Fund,	\$1,462 50	
Interest, Accrued,	21 70	
		<u>1,484 20</u>
INVESTMENT MADE FROM:		
Halstead Neave Fund,	\$487 50	
Interest, Accrued,	7 23	
		<u>494 73</u>
		<u>3,885 86</u>
Excess Disbursements over Receipts,		85 86
Cash on hand December 1st, 1907,		1,125 53
Cash on hand November 30, 1908,		<u>1,039 67</u>

(Exhibit "1")

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS AND SAVINGS DEPOSITS

At November 30th, 1908.

GENERAL FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$716 25
---	----------

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:

83 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$4,425 75
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Ry. Co., 4½%	
Bonds (cost),	314 38
4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	289 00

	\$5,029 13
Savings Deposit—3% Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co.,	8 00

5,037 13

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:

12 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,)	\$834 00
Savings Deposit—3% Cent. Trust and Savings Dept. Co.,	16 00

850 00

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

3 Bonds C. H. & D. Ry. Co., 4% (cost),	\$2,882 50
13 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,)	677 50
2 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,)	144 50
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Railway Co. Stock	
4½% Bonds (Cost),	314 37

	\$4,018 87
Savings Deposit— 3% Cent Trust & Safe Deposit Co.	27 03

4,045 90

HALSTEAD NEAVE FUND:

C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, 4%,	\$1,000 00
Kineon Coal Co. Bond, 5%,	1,000 00
2 Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Bonds 4%, (cost,)	1,755 00
Part Interest in Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bond 1950,	487 50

4,242 50

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:

4 Bonds C. H. & D. Ry. Co. 4½%, (cost,)	\$4,512 50
7 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,)	481 25
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O., Ry. Co., 4½%, Bond,	1,551 25
Part Interest in Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bonds 1950,	1,462 50

8,007 50

COLONIAL DAMES FUND:

4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,)	200 00
--	--------

BINDING FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,)	\$680 63
Savings Deposit—3% Cent Trust. & Safe Deposit Co.,	29 51

710 14

\$23,809 42

(Exhibit "2")
GENERAL FUND

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Dues, 1906,	\$20 00	
" 1907,	140 00	
" 1908,	440 00	
	<hr/>	\$600 00
Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend,	30 00	
Transfer from Life Membership Income Account, . .	274 78	
Transfer from Endowment Fund Account of Interest on Endowment Fund Loan to Building Fund, .	615 00	
	<hr/>	\$1,519 78

DISBURSEMENTS:

Salaries—Librarian and Janitor,	\$1,050 00	
Assistant for Librarian,	113 31	
Printing,	258 23	
Postage,	22 50	
Insurance,	24 50	
Paper for Quarterly,	18 84	
Subscriptions and Dues,	16 00	
Dues of Librarian,	10 00	
Stationery,	10 77	
Card Catalogue Expense,	10 00	
General Expense,	90 65	
	<hr/>	1,624 80
Excess Disbursements over Receipts,		<hr/> 105 02 <hr/>
Deficit carried to Building Fund,		<hr/> 105 02 <hr/>
Investment Account, as per balance sheet,		<hr/> \$716 25 <hr/>

(Exhibit "3")
BUILDING FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Rent to Oct. 1st, 1908,	\$800 00	
Deficiency for year 1908 transferred to Principal Account,	642 13	
	<hr/>	<u>\$1,442 13</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Deficiency to Dec. 1st, 1907,	\$722 11	
Interest on Endowment Fund,	615 00	
Deficiency from General Fund,	105 02	
	<hr/>	<u>\$1,442 13</u>

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1907,	\$16,977 89
Transferred from Income Account,	79 98
	<hr/>
Credit Balance at Nov. 30th, 1908,	<u>\$17,057 87</u>

(Exhibit "3")
ENDOWMENT FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS:

Interest on Loan to Building Fund.	<u>\$615 00</u>
--	-----------------

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to General Fund,	<u>615 00</u>
--	---------------

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1907,	<u>\$12,320 00</u>
Credit Balance at Nov. 30th, 1908,	<u>\$12,320 00</u>

(No change during year.)

(Exhibit "4")
LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividends,	\$261 00	
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	13 50	
Interest on Deposits,	28	
		<u>\$274 78</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to General Fund,	<u>\$274 78</u>
--	-----------------

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1907,	<u>\$5,037 13</u>
Credit Balance at November 30th, 1908,	<u>\$5,037 13</u>
(No change during year.)	

(Exhibit "4")
JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,	\$162 18
--	----------

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividends,	\$36 00	
Interest on Deposits,	56	
		<u>36 56</u>

Credit Balance November 30th, 1908,	<u>\$198 74</u>
---	-----------------

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,	<u>\$850 00</u>
--	-----------------

Credit Balance November 30th, 1908,	<u>\$850 00</u>
---	-----------------

(No change during the year.)

(Exhibit "5")

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS:

Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Dividends,	\$45 00
C. H. & D. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	135 00
C. & O. Ry. Co. " "	13 50
Interest on Deposits,	84

\$194 34

DISBURSEMENTS:

Books Purchased,	89 11
----------------------------	-------

Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908,	<u>\$105 23</u>
---	-----------------

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1, 1907,	<u>\$4,045 90</u>
--	-------------------

Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908,	<u>\$4,045 90</u>
---	-------------------

(No change during year.)

(Exhibit "5")

HALSTEAD NEAVE FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1907,	\$85 03
--	---------

RECEIPTS:

C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	\$40 00
N. & W. Ry. Co. " "	80 00
Kineon Coal Co. " "	50 00

\$255 03

DISBURSEMENTS:

Accrued Interest on Bonds Purchased,	\$7 23
Transferred to Principal Account,	242 50

\$249 73

Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908,	<u>\$5 30</u>
---	---------------

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st. 1907,	\$3,755 00
--	------------

Part of Purchase of Ky. Central Ry. Bonds, 4%,	487 50
--	--------

Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908,	<u>\$4,242 50</u>
---	-------------------

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1907,	\$245 00
--	----------

Transferred from Income Account,	242 50
--	--------

\$487 50

Transferred to Investment Account (Purchase of Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bonds),

\$487 50

Exhibit "6"

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,		\$262 51
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividends,	\$21 00	
C. H. & D. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	180 00	
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	63 00	
	<hr/>	264 00
		<hr/>
		526 51
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Purchase of Books,	\$195 27	
Accrued Interest on Bonds Purchased,	21 70	
Transferred to Principal Account,	62 50	
	<hr/>	279 47
		<hr/>
		\$247 04
		<hr/>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1907,	\$6,545 00
Purchase of Kentucky Central Railway 4% Bonds, . . .	1,462 50
	<hr/>
Credit Balance at November 30th, 1908,	\$8,007 50
	<hr/>

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Cash Received October 8th, 1908,	\$1,400 00
Transferred from Income Account,	62 50
	<hr/>
	\$1,462 50
	<hr/>
Transferred to investment Account (Purchase of Kentucky Central Railway 4% Bonds),	\$1,462 50
	<hr/>

Exhibit "6"

COLONIAL DAMES FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,	\$2 73
RECEIPTS:	
Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividends,	\$12 00
	<hr/>
Credit Balance November 30th, 1908,	\$14 73
	<hr/>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,	\$200 00
	<hr/>
Credit Balance November 30th, 1908, (No change during year)	\$200 00
	<hr/>

(Exhibit "7")

BINDING FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1907,		\$69 64
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Dividends,	\$30 00	
Interest on Deposits,	95	
	<hr/>	30 95
Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908,		<hr/> <u>\$100 59</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1907,	\$710 14
Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908,	<hr/> <u>\$710 14</u>
(No change during year.)	

REPORT OF AUDITOR

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 7TH, 1908.

To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati.

In accordance with instructions, examination has been made of the books of account of THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO for the year ended November 30th, 1908, and we submit as part of this report the following Schedules:—

Schedule "A."—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at November 30th, 1908.

Schedule "B."—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for year ended November 30th, 1908.

These Schedules are supported by Exhibits showing in detail the principal items contained therein.

Receipts and Disbursements have been examined and found correct and the Cash Balance as shown by the books at closing, November 30th, 1908, agrees with the balance on Deposit in Bank.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been duly examined and found in accordance with account as shown by Exhibit 1.

The statement of Assets and Liabilities, as shown, represents the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30th, 1908.

Respectfully submitted,

GUY H. KENNEDY,
Certified Public Accountant.

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Anderson, Davis C.
Anderson, William F.
Ault, L. A.
Baker, Mrs. Charles W.
Balke, Rudolph F.
Battelle, John G.
Brunswick, B. H.
Caldwell, Charles E.
Callahan, John R.
Carew, Joseph T.
Cist, Charles M.
Compton, William C.
Dabney, Charles W.
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman
DeCamp, Walter A.
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.
Foley, B. W.
Foster, Miss Anna H.
Foster, William Lytle
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick
Freiberg, Maurice J.
Gano, Mrs. John A.
Goepper, Edward
Greve, Charles Theodore
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle
Harrison, W. H.
Hinkle, Frederick W.
Hollister, Howard C.
Holmes, D. H.
Holmes, John R.
Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.

Ingalls, M. E.
James, Davis L.
Kittredge, Edmund W.
Leaman, Mrs. Robert F.
Levy, Harry M.
Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Ludlow, William S.
McDonald, Alexander
Miller, Griffin T.
Pendleton, Elliott H.
Procter, William Cooper
Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Pyle, E. C.
Ransohoff, Joseph
Schmidlapp, J. G.
Shillito, Stewart
Storer, Bellamy
Strobridge, Nelson W.
Sykes, Gerritt S.
Taft, Charles W.
Taylor, William W.
Voorheis, Albert W.
Whitcomb, Merrick
Wiborg, Frank B.
Wilson, Obed J.
Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Winslow, Howard S.
Winslow, John F.
Worthington, Edward
Worthington, William
Wulsin, Lucien

LIFE MEMBERS

Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.
Bliss, Eugene F.
Bullock, James W.
Chatfield, Albert H.
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.
Davis, Nathaniel Henchman
Fleischmann, Julius
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.
Hurd, E. O.
Jones, Frank J.
Jones, Mrs. Frank J.

Laws, Miss Annie
Livingood, Charles J.
Neave, Miss Alice
Neave, Miss Jane Caldwell
Procter, Harley T.
Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Thomson, Peter G.
Vail, Henry H.
Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Wilby, Joseph
Woods, Harry F.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Adams, Charles Francis
Cox, Isaac J.
Duro, Cesario
Foulke, William Dudley
Galbreath, Charles W.
Green, Samuel A.

Hayes, E. G.
Heath, William McK.
Hoyt, Albert H.
Thwaites, Reuben Gold
Tyson, Philip T.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Durrett, Reuben T.

Venable, William H.

Five members died during the year :

Miss Phoebe S. Baker, corporate member.

General Benjamin R. Cowen, corporate member.

Mr. Reuben H. Warder, corporate member.

Mr. William Henry Davis, life member.

Mr. Erasmus Gest, life member.

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Cincinnati Historical Society
Quarterly publication

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